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YOUNG TOM WHARTON

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ABSTRACT

This working paper is a draft of the first three chapters of a biography of Thomas, 5th Baron, 1st Earl, and 1st Marquess of Wharton (1648-1715). It traces the development of young Thomas (*Tom* to his family and eventually to the political world of England) from his birth until his return from France in 1666.

The reader may be relieved to know that the formidable array of genealogical notes in Chapter 1 will eventually be reduced into an appendix on the Wharton family and that the table of abbreviations covers the whole book, not merely the first three chapters. Some of the notes, it should be added, are made necessary by the vast amount of misinformation that has accreted around the Whartons. Nice people will not bother to read them.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. List of abbreviations commonly used in the citation of book titles and of manuscripts

Add.	Additional
BL	British Library
Corr.	Correspondence
<i>CSP, Dom.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
<i>CTB</i>	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books</i>
<i>HCJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Commons</i>
HEH	Henry E. Huntington Library
<i>HLJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Lords</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission
HS	Harleian Society
<i>IHCJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Commons...Ireland</i>
<i>IHLJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Lords...Ireland</i>
MS, MSS	Manuscript, manuscripts
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PR	Parish Register
PRO	Public Record Office
RCHM	Royal Commission of Historical Monuments
RO	Record Office
SP	State Papers
<i>VHC</i>	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>

2. List of Books and Manuscripts cited by Short Titles

Annals	Abel Boyer, <i>The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals</i> (London, 1703-13), 11 vols.
Autobiography	The Autobiography of Goodwin Wharton, BL, Add. MSS 20,006-07.
Burnet	Gilbert Burnet, <i>Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time</i> , ed. Martin Joseph Routh, 2nd edn., 6 vols. (Oxford, 1833).
<i>Calamy Revised</i>	Arnold Gwynne, <i>Calamy Revised</i> (Oxford, 1934).
Carte	Bodleian Library, Carte MSS.
<i>CB</i>	<i>Complete Baronetage</i> , ed. G. E. C.[okayne], 5 vols. (Exeter, 1900-6)
<i>CP</i>	<i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom</i> , ed. G. E. C.[okayne], rev.ed., 12 vols. (London, 1910-59).
Dalton	<i>English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714</i> , ed. Charles Dalton, 6 vols. (London, 1892-1904).
E. R. Wharton	Edward Ross Wharton, <i>The Whartons of Wharton Hall</i> (Oxford, 1898).

- Evelyn *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955).
- Goodwin Wharton J. Kent Clark, *Goodwin Wharton* (Oxford, 1984).
- Grey, *Debates* Anchitell Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons from the Year 1667 to the Year 1694*, 10 vols. (London, 1763).
- HC, 1660-90 *The House of Commons, 1660-1690*, ed. Basil Duke Henning, published for History of Parliament Trust (London, 1983), 3 vols.
- Kemeys-Tynte NLW, Aberystwyth, Wales, Kemeys-Tynte MSS.
- Kennett White Kennett, *A Complete History of England*, 3 vols. (London, 1706).
- Langley Thomas Langley, *The History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Desborough* (London, 1797).
- Lonsdale Cumbria RO, Carlisle, Lonsdale MSS.
- Luttrell Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 vols. Oxford, 1857).
- Macaulay Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1st Baron Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, 6 vols. (London, 1913-15).
- Macky John Macky, *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.* (London, 1733)
- Memoirs* *Memoirs of the Life of the Most Noble Thomas, Late Marquess of Wharton* (London, 1715).
- Old Cause* John Carswell, *The Old Cause* (London, 1954).
- Parl. Diary* *The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell, 1691-1693*, ed. Henry Horwitz (Oxford, 1972).
- Parl. Hist.* *The Parliamentary History of England*, ed. William Cobbett, 36 vols. (London, 1806-20).
- POAS *Poems on Affairs of State, Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, gen. ed., George de F. Lord, 7 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1963-75).
- Political State* Abel Boyer, *The Political State of Great Britain* (London, 1712-40), 60 vols.
- Rawlinson Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS.
- State Trials* *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, ed. T. B. Howell, 21 vols. (London, 1811-26).
- Survey of London* Greater London Council, *Survey of London*, vol. i-- (London, 1900--).
- Trevelyan George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England Under Queen Anne*, 3 vols. (London, 1930-34).
- Wharton Bodleian Library, Wharton MSS.

Chapter 1

THE HEIR

On 2 September 1648 Oliver Cromwell took time out from mopping up the Scots army he had crushed at Preston to write a letter of congratulation to Philip, Lord Wharton, and Jane, Lady Wharton. Lady Wharton had just given birth to a male heir--a son named Thomas--and Cromwell wished to send his love to "the dear little lady." He also wished to be sure that Lord Wharton interpreted the events correctly. The birth of "the young baron," Cromwell wrote, should be seen as a divine mercy like the outcome of the battle. It should draw the fortunate father closer to his Puritan friends, the despised but victorious saints. It should not, Cromwell cautioned, tempt the Whartons to traffic with Royalists, the worshippers of hereditary privilege.¹

Cromwell need not have worried. Philip, the "good" Lord Wharton, was a sturdy Calvinist peer who knew a divine mercy when he saw one. He had detected mercies in events a great deal more ambiguous than the birth of an heir or the battle at Preston; and he was not apt to traffic with Royalists. He had commanded a regiment for the Parliament when the Civil War first broke out, and he had consistently supported the Puritan cause, both in and out of Parliament, against the Cavaliers and their abettors. Over the years, he had learned, as well as Cromwell himself, that Charles I was not to be trusted and that if he was to be left on the throne, the monarchy must be totally declawed and defanged.

But Lord Wharton also knew that mercies and providences are only too likely to be fragile. He had already lost two young heirs--a son named Philip, who had died at birth, and a son named Arthur, who had survived only nine months;² he had also lost his first wife, Elizabeth Wandesford, and their daughter Philadelphia,³ as well as an infant daughter named Jane.⁴ On the political and military side, he had seen the mercies of Marston Moor and Naseby largely frittered away in quarrels between Puritan factions, in Royalist machinations, and in the feuds and follies of the incorrigible Scots. Lord Wharton would be cautious, therefore, in guarding his young heir and in watching to see that his "faithful friend," as Cromwell described himself, did not transform a military victory into a political disaster.

As for young Thomas, the newborn heir, he was much too young to know that he had been born into revolution or that the course of his life would be determined by the gyrations of English politics. He could not even know that his immediate future would be dictated by the views of his father, of Oliver Cromwell, and of the redoubtable New Model Army. For the present, he had only one duty--to survive the perils of

seventeenth-century infancy. This he managed to do successfully, as he later survived an attack of smallpox.⁵ In retrospect it appeared that he had inherited a legendary supply of vitality and some of Lord Wharton's remarkable resilience. To his family, however, his survival was simply a continuing providence.

Inadvertently, Cromwell may have contributed to the baby's well being. Before young Thomas was six months old, Cromwell had purged the House of Commons and executed Charles I. In the process he lost the support of Lord Wharton, who refused to participate in a government that coerced Parliament and beheaded monarchs.⁶ On theoretical grounds, Lord Wharton might have agreed with Cromwell and John Milton that the execution could be legally justified and even that Charles handsomely deserved beheading; but he could never agree on practical and emotional grounds. With Pride's Purge, Cromwell had denatured what remained of the Long Parliament; and with the execution, he had turned a royal incompetent into a royal martyr. While, therefore, Cromwell and his supporters were abolishing the monarchy and turning England into a Puritan republic, Lord Wharton left his London house in Clerkenwell and retired to his Buckinghamshire estates at Winchendon and Wooburn. Thus his heir was removed from the perilous city into the somewhat less perilous countryside.

That Lord Wharton decided to live principally at Winchendon was at least in part a political decision. The Whartons had originally come from Westmorland, where the first Lord Wharton was a doughty border captain for Henry VIII--ennobled for defeating the Scots at Solway Moss and rewarded generously with abbey lands. Over the years the family had profited mightily from further gifts and purchases of lands, from rich marriages, and from coal and lead mines. To their manors in Westmorland and Cumberland they had added estates in the North Riding of Yorkshire, including much of Swaledale, and in the area southwest of the city of York.⁷ Lord Wharton himself, who was the fourth baron, had acquired further property by his first marriage. If he had wanted to remove himself completely from the infection of London and the regicide regime, he might have established himself at Aske or Hartforth near Richmond, at Healaugh, Sinningthwaite, or Catterton near York, at Healaugh in Swaledale, at Cockermouth or Dean in Cumberland, or at Wharton in Westmorland, near Kirkby Stephen, where in the 1550s the first Lord Wharton had rebuilt and considerably extended the medieval Wharton manor house.⁸

But Philip, Lord Wharton, wished to remain on the fringes of political action. At Winchendon, five miles beyond Aylesbury and about forty-five miles from Westminster, he was within a very long day's carriage ride from Whitehall, where in case of need he could use his personal friendship with the new governors to get favors for himself and his friends. In the normal course of things, on the other hand, he was far enough removed to

keep the new regime at arm's length and to parry, gracefully, Cromwell's attempts to recruit him for service.⁹ Winchendon, in fact, may be seen as a symbol for Lord Wharton's survival policy--later to be revived in the days of James II: In revolutionary times, one may be friendly with unpopular rulers and even accept favors from them. To serve them, however, and to earn those favors may prove dangerous or even fatal.

Lord Wharton had acquired Winchendon through his marriage to Jane Goodwin, young Thomas's mother. Jane was the daughter and sole heir of Colonel Arthur Goodwin, who was himself the heir to the rich Goodwin estates in Bucks--including, besides Winchendon and Wooburn, Waddesdon, Weston, and scattered properties throughout the southern part of the County.¹⁰ When Arthur Goodwin died, in 1643, the Whartons, who had been merely wealthy before, became very wealthy; and Lord Wharton, whose inherited property was all in the north, became a magnate in the south as well.

To young Thomas, the eventual heir to all these properties, Lord Wharton's decision to put a proper distance between himself and Cromwell meant that Winchendon became home. There he lived for most of the first ten years of his life, there he would return after his first marriage, and there he would maintain his principal base of operations even after he had inherited Wooburn and about thirty other manors. To the boy, Upper Winchendon meant first of all his mother and father and the rapidly growing Wharton family. These included, when the Whartons first retired to Winchendon, the boy's half-sister Elizabeth and his two older sisters Anne and Margaret (the survivors from the attrition of the 1640s),¹¹ but there soon followed a sister Mary,¹² a brother Goodwin,¹³ a sister Philadelphia,¹⁴ and a brother Henry.¹⁵ All of these, in the Wharton style, were suitably provided with nicknames.¹⁶ Thomas himself became Tom, of course--a name that would last him for life and replace his formal name everywhere except on official documents. Anne became Nan, Margaret became Peg, Mary became Mall, Goodwin became Gooding, Philadelphia became Philly and Henry became Harry--a name that was to become well known in the English army and the English taverns.

Winchendon also meant a staff of servants, adjunct members, practically speaking, of the Wharton clan. They ranged from lowly kitchen maids to lofty housekeepers, from humble stable boys to enviable grooms and coachmen. On another level there was usually a waiting gentlewoman or a relative-companion for Lady Wharton, a chaplain-secretary for Lord Wharton, and a trusted group of nursemaids, tutors, or personal servants for the children, as their several ages required.

And Winchendon meant visitors. As the nerve center of the widely scattered Wharton estates, it served as an inn for the stewards, agents, and servant-messengers who made the long, punishing journeys from York, Westmorland, or Cumberland. More socially, the Whartons received visits from Lord Wharton's brother Sir Thomas, from Lady Wharton's

mother Jane Goodwin (remarried since Arthur Goodwin's death to Colonel Francis Martin¹⁷), from more distant relatives, and from friends, including Cromwell's daughter Mary.¹⁸ Such visits, made over long distances and bad roads, seldom lasted less than two or three days, and often stretched into weeks. Finally, since Lord Wharton was an ally and patron of Independent and Presbyterian ministers, now in the days of their prosperity as well as later in the days of their distress, and since he had the right to nominate rectors or vicars for several parishes,¹⁹ Winchendon often harbored clerical guests. They too were welcome to stay for extended periods, to exchange political and religious views with their host, and to preach in St. Mary Magdalene church, some two or three hundred yards from the manor house.

Young Tom, then, who was the heir to two generations of Puritans on both the Wharton and Goodwin sides of the family, and who was provided with a family chaplain as well as a parish vicar, grew up practically surrounded, in Macaulay's picturesque phrase, with Geneva bands--with men who took life, the Bible, and God's will very seriously indeed. And Lord Wharton, whose authority needed no reinforcement at all, found his parental prerogatives solidly supported by biblical injunctions and divine prescription. Well steeped himself in biblical texts and religious controversy (once a lay member, in fact, of the Westminster Assembly of Divines), he knew beyond doubt that his first duty to his children was to save their souls, not to please them. And if prayers, sermons, catechisms, scriptural study, and precise observance of commandments could lead the children towards grace, he would provide all possible instruction and set a formidable example. To his children, naturally, he often appeared inflexible, demanding, and impossible to please--all business and high seriousness. But they seldom doubted his sincerity or concern, and they sometimes managed to love him in spite of his devotion to their welfare.

But if Lord Wharton was a thoroughgoing precisian who had scruples against plays and Sunday travel and who feared that kissing the Bible in taking oaths might constitute idolatry,²⁰ he was also an English aristocrat with a keen eye for beauty and a feeling for the social graces. And if to his children, Winchendon often seemed like a tightly run seminary, it was nevertheless a beautiful seminary. Lord Wharton, like his Puritan friend Andrew Marvell, loved gardens, and he also loved painting. He had himself sat for a famous portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck,²¹ and his collection of Vandykes rivalled that of Charles I. This collection had been supplemented since Sir Anthony's death with the painting of other masters, including Sir Peter Lely. Young Tom, then, who would eventually inherit and improve the gardens and who would add Knellers to the art collection, grew up among portraits, trees, and flowers. And if in one of its aspects, Winchendon threatened to grind him into pious powder, it also called him (in the words of

a poet much later than Marvell) to the things of this world.

Upper Winchendon had other attractions besides its plants and pictures. With its setting atop a ridge of low hills, it commanded a view of the valleys of northern Bucks, with Waddesdon and Quainton nearby and, in another direction, Aylesbury in the middle distance. If young Tom had been prescient, he could have previewed from his hilltop, and from the belfry of the church, much personal and political drama. Although Oxford itself was occulted by hills, he could see a great deal of Oxfordshire, where he would one day become Lord Lieutenant; he could see Claydon, where the Verneys, his friendly political enemies, sometimes entertained young Anne Lee, who was to become his first wife; he could see Aylesbury, where he would win six county-wide elections for himself and many more for his Whig friends, and where he started a constitutional battle that rocked Parliament.²² Nearer home, he could see the meadows where his horses would eventually race and the countryside where he and his beagles and horses would course hares.

Even in the present, while Cromwell was battering the Scots, the Irish, and Royalists in general and turning the new republic into a badly disguised military dictatorship, young Tom could see and admire horses. At Winchendon, horses were not only ornaments, status symbols, and *de facto* friends of the family, but also hard necessities. As the only way of getting anywhere fast, they were the link between Winchendon, several miles from even a provincial town, and the far flung Wharton holdings--between Winchendon and the big world. They were also the patient animals that drew heavy loads and worked the fields of the surrounding tenant farmers. Inevitably, then, Tom grew up among stables and horses, and he probably acquired his renowned affinity for the animals not much after he learned to walk. In any case, since horses were a necessity, they were the one indulgence Lord Wharton could allow his heir, who was in no danger of being spoiled. As a matter of course, he had Tom taught horsemanship as soon as the boy could sit safely on a horse; and he would one day ship Northampton and several other Wharton horses to Paris so that his adolescent heir could tour northern France and Flanders in style.²³

Meantime, the Wharton horses sometimes took the family to Wooburn for extended stays, and about once a year they took Lord Wharton to inspect his northern properties, to attend assizes at Appleby,²⁴ and to visit his mother Lady Philadelphia Wharton at Aske.²⁵ On these expeditions, he usually took his wife and older children, as well as a sizeable band of servants.²⁶ To Lord Wharton, who had been born in the North and had lived there, except for sojourns in London and Oxford, until he was thirty-four, the North was home. Manors like Muker, Ravenstonedale, Shap, Croglin, Dean, Long Marton, and Caldbeck, which had been in the family for years, were part of the natural order; and friends and relatives like the Lowthers, the Musgraves, and the Cliffords were friends

indeed, even if they were malignant Royalists like the Musgraves.²⁷ To young Tom, however, the North meant long journeys and strange places: small towns and hamlets like Richmond, Grinton, Brough, Kirkby Stephen, and Appleby; exotic valleys like Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, with their stone walls; Healaugh and Broughton with their lead mines and coal mines; rivers like Eden, Derwent, and Cocker which flowed through Wharton estates; and small manors with implausible names like Maulds Meaburn, Thrimby, Sleagill, and Reagill. In later years, the north country and the ancestral estates would become more familiar and provide Tom with some of his political power; but they would never be home. And the Musgraves, who would make the natural transition from malignant Royalist to hopeless Tory, would seldom be anything but a pain.

The boy Tom, like the adult who succeeded him, was firmly anchored in Bucks amid places like Wendover, Tring, and Thame or Marlow, High Wycombe, and Hedsor, and among families with names like Hampden, Lee, Verney, and Borlace; and he spent his first ten years in what seemed like an immutable order ruled by an infallible father whom on some unimaginably distant day he would succeed. He could not know that stability was subject to change without notice or that immutability could not last through the year 1658.

NOTES

1. Oliver Cromwell to Philip, Lord Wharton, 2 Sep. 1648, Rawlinson 49, fol. 25. Printed in *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq.*, ed. Thomas Birch (London, 1742), i, 99; *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. Wilbur Cortez Abbott, i (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), 645. On 28 Aug., the Presbyterian minister Cornelius Burges had written Lord Wharton a similar letter, congratulating him on his "particular happynes at this time, wherein God heapes so many mercyes and miracles upon the publique" (Rawlinson 52, fol. 163). I have found no official record of the boy's birth or reference to his exact birthday. The Burges letter establishes the date as no later than 28 August and probably a day or two earlier. John Carswell (Old Cause, p. 28) mistakenly places the date (and the Battle of Preston) in September.

2. Young Philip was baptized at St. Mary Magdalene, Winchendon, on 28 Oct. 1638 and buried there the next day (Bucks. RO, Aylesbury, Winchendon PR). Arthur was born 2 June 1641 and buried at St. Paul's, Wooburn, on 15 March 1642, as his memorial stone attests.

3. Elizabeth Wandesford married Philip, Lord Wharton, on 23 Sep. 1632; she died sometime after 10 Oct. 1635 and was buried at Kirkby Stephen (CP, sub Philip, 4th baron Wharton). Her daughter Philadelphia was buried at St. James, Clerkenwell, on 6 Sep. 1645 (*A True Register of . . . St James Clarkenwell [sic] . . .*, ed. Robert Hovendon, London, iv, 1891; HS Registers, xvii, 264).

4. Jane, named after her mother and maternal grandmother, was a child of Lord Wharton's second marriage (at Winchendon, 7 Sep. 1637). She was buried at St. James, Clerkenwell, on 13 Jan. 1645 (*ibid.*, xvii, 262).

5. See below, [III, 14-17].

6. Lord Wharton wrote two accounts of his break with Cromwell's regime--the first (Carte 80, fol. 592) in 1660, the year of the Restoration, and the second (Carte 81, fol. 736) in 1685, a few months after the accession of James II. Both accounts were written to defuse royalist resentment; both minimize his early contributions to the Puritan cause; and both exaggerate the cleanness of the break between him and his old friends. Naturally, Lord Wharton makes no mention of his personal ties with members of the Puritan governments. For good modern analysis, see G. F. Trevallyn Jones, *Saw-Pit Wharton* (Sidney, 1967), pp. 137-50; for further discussion of the 1685 account, see below, p.

7. Major documents describing Wharton property include Carte 108, fols. 398-99, 402; Carte 117, fols. 181-92; Bodleian Library, Add. MS D. 40.

8. For Wharton Hall, parts of which are still extant and in use, see RCHM, *Westmorland* (1936), pp. 240-242 (with photographs and ground plan); Reverend Canon Simpson, "Wharton Hall and the Wharton Family," *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland [sic] Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, i (1866-73), 224-37; John F. Curwen, "Wharton Hall, Westmorland, Part I, Descriptive," *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland [sic] Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, New Ser., ii (1902), 256-63.

9. For Cromwell's overtures, see Oliver Cromwell to Philip, Lord Wharton, 1 Jan. 1650 (*The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. Abbott, ii, 1939, 189-91); Cromwell to Wharton, 4 Sep. 1650 (*ibid.*, ii, 328-29); Cromwell to Wharton, 27 Aug. 1651 (*ibid.*, ii,

453); summons 9 Dec 1657 (ignored) for Lord Wharton to serve in Cromwell's "other house" (ibid., iv, 1947, 685 and n., 951). For a proposed match between Elizabeth, Lord Wharton's oldest daughter, and Henry Cromwell, Oliver's second son, see Oliver Cromwell to Lord Wharton, 27 Aug. 1651 (ibid., ii, 453).

10. Bodleian Library, Add. MS D. 40.

11. Like Edward Ross Wharton, compiler of the Wharton MSS in the Bodleian Library, I have been unable to find dates and places of birth for Elizabeth, Anne, or Margaret Wharton. I would guess that Elizabeth, the younger of the two daughters of Lord Wharton's first marriage and ultimately Countess of Lindsey, was born in 1635; that Anne, the oldest surviving child of the second marriage was born about 1646 and her sister Margaret about 1647. (The fact that Margaret produced a child, Philadelphia Seyliard, as late as 1690 makes it likely that she was born not many months before her brother Tom.)

12. Mary was baptized at St. Mary Magdalene, Winchendon, 29 Oct. 1649 (Bucks. RO, Winchendon PR).

13. Born 8 Mar. 1653; baptized 28 Mar. 1653, St. Paul's, Wooburn. (This information was communicated by the late G. Dennis Staff, Vicar of Wooburn. See also, Langley, p. 465.)

14. Baptized 9 Sep. 1655, Winchendon (Bucks. RO, Winchendon PR). Another Wharton daughter named Frances was buried at Winchendon on 13 May 1656 (ibid.), but she was obviously born before Philadelphia, and perhaps before Goodwin.

15. Baptized 18 Jan. 1657, Winchendon (ibid.).

16. In a draft of the study schedule drawn up for the Wharton children, all except Goodwin are listed by their nicknames (Rawlinson 49, 11-14). Goodwin is "Gooding," however, in the letters of his faithful servant John Perkins and of his sister Mary--and occasionally in the letters of his brother Tom.

17. Married 7 June 1646 (Winchendon PR).

18. Cromwell to Lord Wharton, 27 Aug. 1651, *Writings...of Oliver Cromwell*, ed Abbott, ii, 453.

19. Including Kirkby Stephen, Croglin, Dean, Healaugh, Ravenstonedale, Winchendon, Waddesdon, and Wooburn.

20. HLJ, xiii, 396, 398 (2, 3 Dec. 1678); Carte 81, fols. 388, 390, 394-96.

21. Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

22. For Ashby v. White and the case of the Aylesbury men, see below, pp.

23. See below, [ch. III, pp. 11-14].

24. Carte 80, fol 593; Anne (Clifford) Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, *Lives of Lady Anne Clifford...and of her Parents Summarized by Herself* (London and Aylesbury, 1916), p. 75; George C. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford* (Kendall, 1922), p. 240.

25. Lady Philadelphia Wharton, daughter of Robert Carey, 1st Earl of Monmouth, married Sir Thomas Wharton 11 Apr. 1611. The manors of Aske and Ravenstonedale were settled upon her for her jointure (Carte 117, fols. 181-82). After Sir Thomas's death (17 Apr. 1622) she resided at Aske, where she died 27 Dec. 1654 (George Sanderson to Lord Wharton, 28 Dec. 1654, Carte 103, fol. 267).

26. Lord Wharton to Sir Thomas Wharton [14 Jan 1664], Carte 81, fol. 22.

27. Lord Wharton intervened with the Council of State on Sir Philip Musgrave's behalf in a letter dated 23 Aug. 1653 (Carte 80, fols. 593-94). After the Restoration, when he was accused of complicity in the Farnley Woods plot, Lord Wharton asked his brother to solicit Sir Philip's help (in two undated and unsigned letters of December 1663, Carte 81, fols. 191, 193).

Chapter 2

THE BATTLE OF NORMANDY

The year 1658 brought the death of Oliver Cromwell and the death of Jane, Lady Wharton. Both events transformed the Wharton world. The death of the Lord Protector, on 3 September, meant that the traditional order would be restored and that Lord Wharton could re-enter the formal political life of England; but it also meant that the Puritan cause, which Cromwell and his friends had made odious, was forever lost. In the royalist and Anglican reaction which followed the Restoration, Presbyterians and Independents were redefined as "fanatics"; their ministers were removed from church livings and from the universities; and Lord Wharton, their advocate in the House of Peers, was doomed to many years of frustration. Under the new order, Winchendon and Wooburn became havens for unemployed ministers, while Cambridge and Oxford (Lord Wharton's own university) became foreign territory. No son of Lord Wharton's, and certainly not his heir, would subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican faith, as the new requirements demanded, or would be sent, in any case, to live in a college of Prelatists.

The death of Lady Wharton, which occurred on 21 April 1658,¹ brought a revolution of its own. Besides the immediate emotional devastation suffered by Lord Wharton's "small motherless children"²--ranging from Henry, who was a year old, to Anne, who was about fourteen--there was a continuing void in the life of the family. Though the children were still surrounded by trustworthy servants and tutors like John Perkins, Philip Romerill, "Nurse" Mecham, and Frances Gunter,³ the emotional center of the household and a loving court of appeals had been removed. The children were compelled to huddle together for warmth. Young Tom, who was nine and a half when his mother died, turned especially to his oldest sister Anne and to Mary, the sister immediately younger than himself.⁴ For a few months he may have derived some comfort from his half-sister Elizabeth, a young lady of about 23 when her stepmother died; but in 1659 she married Robert Bertie (later third Earl of Lindsey)⁵ and left the Wharton household.

The deaths of Lady Wharton and the Protector also brought about a revolution in the Wharton living arrangements. Whether the loss of Lord Wharton's "truly dear and worthy wife"⁶ made her long-time home at Winchendon too painful for her husband to occupy or whether the shifting political scene alone caused him to change his country base of operations, Lord Wharton moved from Winchendon to Wooburn soon after Lady Wharton died. There he made extensive alterations and additions to the manor house and grounds, including "fine gardens" and an elaborate gallery for his art collection.⁷ By the time he went to Greenwich, on 29 May 1660, to greet the newly restored Charles II,⁸ his family was firmly settled at Wooburn, in the Thames Valley about 25 miles from London and less than a dozen miles from Windsor.

Besides moving from Upper Winchendon to Wooburn--from the hills to the valleys-- Lord Wharton also acquired a town house. Like his fellow aristocrats, who were abandoning the City of London for Westminster, he did not return to Clerkenwell; he moved instead to St. Giles-in-the-Fields, where he took an impressive house, complete with stables and gardens. This property, which he leased from the Merchant Taylors, stood within a stone's throw of the parish church, occupying most of the area between what is now Denmark Street and Flitcroft Street.⁹ And as the Cromwell regime became a memory, the Whartons adapted themselves to what was becoming a standard aristocratic pattern of migration between town and country. In the summer they occupied Wooburn, and in the winter--and particularly during sessions of Parliament--they lived at St. Giles.

The death of Lady Wharton and the new living arrangements made great changes in the texture of young Tom's life. As his mother too became a memory and a few elegant portraits,¹⁰ and as his father became immersed in the problems of saving himself and his friends from the revenge of the royalists, the boy was adapting himself to scenes that became familiar without becoming quite natural. In the new order, only the servants, the sermons, and the horses remained constant. Many years later, Tom would explain his preference for Winchendon over Wooburn by saying that Wooburn was too low lying,¹¹ but the real explanation is probably more than a matter of weather and panorama. It is clear that for all its rich beauty and its convenience for working politicians, Wooburn never captured Tom's affections. The early feeling of being displaced never entirely left him.

The late summer of 1661 brought another drastic change to the Wharton household. On 26 August, after three years of trying to manage a motherless family and of striving at the same time to weather the political turmoil of the Restoration with head and property intact, Lord Wharton remarried. The new Lady Wharton was Anne Carr Popham, daughter of William Carr, a Scots courtier,¹² and widow of Edward Popham, a renowned admiral and colonel in the Parliamentary service. Although Anne had been widowed for ten years and although a statue of her and Colonel Popham had been placed in Westminster Abbey by a grateful republic,¹³ she was still a comparatively young woman, about thirty-eight, and she was still strikingly handsome.¹⁴ She brought with her to Wooburn two children of her own--a thirteen year old daughter named Letitia and a twelve year old son named Alexander.

In becoming mistress of Wooburn and St. Giles and stepmother to seven Wharton children, Lady Wharton faced some formidable difficulties. Except for the eight-year-old Goodwin, who seems to have been dazzled from the first by the handsome lady,¹⁵ the Wharton brood formed a closed corporation, who were not anxious to share their father or their lives with any newcomers, however attractive. There was a problem too with Lady

Wharton's son Alexander, who was a deaf mute requiring special attention. The following year she would take him to Oxford and put him in the care of Dr. John Wallis, who would eventually teach him to read and to speak intelligibly;¹⁶ but for the present he could not participate with the Wharton children in the elaborate system of studies and activities prescribed by their father and their tutors.¹⁷ Letitia fared much better. She was nicknamed Lizzie and partially worked into the children's routine, but the process remained incomplete through the next year--probably because she remained in town with her mother and stepfather in the summer of 1662 while the Wharton children were at Wooburn.

To further complicate Lady Wharton's relationship with her new family, she became pregnant very soon after marriage. Due for delivery in late June 1662, she chose to stay at St. Giles, away from her stepchildren, until after the event. Her absence removed her again from the children's world, and the birth of her son, William,¹⁸ generated little enthusiasm among the Wharton children. The infant half-brother threatened to monopolize the attention of Lord and Lady Wharton for weeks if not months and years to come.

Meanwhile, at Wooburn, young Tom, almost fourteen, was going through his prescribed paces. These began early in the morning with catechisms and personal prayers, supervised by the faithful Wharton servant John Perkins. Then came breakfast, about seven, and a period devoted mostly to the arts and exercises--lessons in music and dancing on some days and lessons in riding and fencing on others.¹⁹ At about eight thirty, Tom had a session of geography or arithmetic; and at nine, he began his principal academic studies, Latin and Greek. These he worked on in two-hour periods, before and after dinner (which was then served in the middle of the day), and he ended his studies with French lessons and a session on the harpsichord. By the summer of 1662, he had taken Latin under Philip Romerill and Thomas Elford for several years, conjugated innumerable verbs, and memorized large chunks of Cicero, Terence, Ovid, and Erasmus; he had also mastered his basic Greek grammar.²⁰ His French had advanced to the point where he would soon be assigned to teach it to John Perkins and governess Eleanor ("Nell") French. He was not yet allowed, however, to play or exercise without surveillance. During the noon recess and after his last lesson at five, he and his brother Goodwin were attended by Perkins and one Mr. Hutton "to keep them from unfitting places and ill turns."²¹

In that summer of 1662, Tom was taken in hand by Theophilus Gale, a more philosophical, scholarly, and rigorous tutor than Romerill or Elford. Gale was a Puritan, of course--an Independent--and he had been a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a preacher in Winchester Cathedral until he was displaced by the Restoration. On 16 December 1661, he had been recommended to Lord Wharton by Thomas Gilbert, who

described his spirit as "grave, mild, and sweet, as well as holy."²² In the spring of 1662, he had agreed to supervise Tom and Goodwin during a sojourn in France and a tour of Europe; and in early June, while Lord and Lady Wharton were at St. Giles, he arrived at Wooburn to get acquainted with his charges.²³

Gale's first impressions were favorable. He observed at once, what all England would eventually learn, that Tom had a "quick and apprehensive" mind. Intellectually, the boy was obviously "fit to take in the more noble parts of humane literature." Gale also observed that Tom had a promising temperament. Though perhaps "a little intent" upon sports, as "all youthful active spirits are," he seemed very tractable and willing to take directions. Gale had no doubt that he would show great academic progress. Goodwin too, though naturally talkative and unsettled, was bright, amiable, and cooperative--fit for spiritual improvement and "humane accomplishments."²⁴

Gale's impressions were soon confirmed. As Tom and Goodwin continued to demonstrate their talents and their inclination to take "wholesome instructions," Gale declared himself "every day more than other encouraged" in his tutorial work. There was some difficulty, he admitted, in getting them up at five o'clock in the morning, as Lord Wharton's summer rules prescribed, and he had found Tom less than enthusiastic about practicing the harpsichord. Nevertheless, he expected to be able to give Lord Wharton a satisfying account of the boys' proficiency.²⁵

Unfortunately, the thirty-four year old Gale did not make an equally favorable impression upon Tom and Goodwin, who found him grave and pious indeed, but not sweet or easy to like--a view shared by their older sister Anne.²⁶ And in mid-July, before the relationship could be improved, the education of the young Whartons was interrupted by an illness--perhaps what a later age would call flu. Tom's case was comparatively light, though it kept him for some time from "any serious studies." Goodwin, on the other hand, had long-lasting and recurrent bouts (or "fits") of fever that worried his tutor, cost him four ounces of blood, and evoked anxious correspondence between Gale and Lord Wharton.²⁷ By the time Goodwin recovered, Gale was preparing to leave for France to select a place for the boys to begin their European education.

Originally Lord Wharton seems to have intended to send Tom and Goodwin to France in the autumn of 1662, and he certainly intended to send Mary, Philadelphia, and Henry along with them. On August 8, he went so far, in fact, as to get a passport for all five of his younger children, and for a suitable entourage: Gale, John Perkins, James Le Fevre (Huguenot tutor in French), and two maidservants.²⁸ But there were problems. Nothing in Gale's ten years as a tutor at Magdalen College had prepared him to deal with a thirteen-year old girl, a seven-year old girl, and a five-year old boy--even if they were accompanied by a competent governess, Eleanor French, and appropriate servants.

Understandably nervous about the prospect, Gale was also doubtful about the usefulness of the venture. To censorious people, as he delicately hinted, it might appear that Lord Wharton and his new lady were simply trying to get five young Whartons out from under foot.²⁹ In any case, it was necessary that Gale should proceed to France in advance of his charges, select a place suitable to the education and moral welfare of the children, and improve his own French and his knowledge of French culture.

The place that Gale selected was Caen in Normandy, for reasons that he carefully explained to Lord Wharton. The city was first of all a center of French protestantism. The Huguenots were "numerous," and their ministers, including the celebrated Samuel Bochart, were "learned and able." In Caen, Protestants could attend the public university, and there were in addition "private academies." Caen also offered well qualified, and inexpensive, masters in the special disciplines--fencing, dancing, music, mathematics, and "riding the great horse." Considerably cheaper than Paris and virtually free from Englishmen, who were apt to distract serious students and retard their progress in learning French, Caen seemed an excellent staging area, where the young Whartons could accustom themselves to idiomatic French, as well as "the French humour and spirit," before they proceeded to take up residence in Paris.³⁰

Lord Wharton agreed with Gale's assessment, and he even allowed himself to be persuaded, after several letters, not to send Mary, Philadelphia, and Henry to France. All the "public schools for young ladies in France," Gale pointed out, were "in the convents," where Lord Wharton would not wish to send a daughter. And the young ladies would mean significant additional expense--a separate *pension* for the girls (to prevent the children from forming an English-speaking enclave), a coach and horses for the young ladies during the rainy season, and a French governess to assist Eleanor French, who was probably too old to learn the language effectively. Finally, Gale argued, "bringing young ladies to France for education" was practically unheard of, and the arrival of the young Whartons would astonish the French.³¹

In preparing to receive Tom and Goodwin, Gale had a stroke of good fortune. On his first arrival, he had himself taken up residence with a Huguenot family named de la Chaussée, who lived on the Grande Rue (now the Rue St. Jean) in the middle of Caen. M. de la Chaussée, Gale soon learned, was not only an elder in the reformed church, esteemed for his wisdom, sweetness, and piety, but also an educated gentleman, who spoke excellent French and good Latin. Mme. de la Chaussée too, Gale found, was well educated and well bred--a woman of discretion. By 5 February 1663, Gale was so well pleased with the couple, their children, and the modest rates they charged their guests that he recommended their *pension* as a good place for the two boys.³² Gale's judgment, which Lord Wharton accepted, proved to be sound. Though the accommodations were not

princely, they turned out to be very satisfactory, and the de la Chaussée house became the residence of Tom and Goodwin for almost two years. It also became the site of Tom's first recorded battle against authority.

Tom and Goodwin, along with John Perkins and James Le Fevre, arrived in Caen, after a voyage from Rye to Ouistraham, on 15/25 June 1663.³³ On Gale's advice, they brought with them a supply of winter woolens, Holland shirts, and English shoes, since all these were better and cheaper than the French produced and the styles were essentially the same. (Light summer clothes, on the other hand, were cheaper in Caen.) They also brought the staples of an English medicine chest: spa waters for indigestion, a concoction called *aqua mirabilis* to prevent plague,³⁴ syrup of "poppil" (laudanum) for aches and pains, and "the Countess of Kent's powder"³⁵ (a mixture that might have pleased the witches in *Macbeth*) for combatting fevers--especially smallpox. All these items of clothing and medicine the boys would eventually need, but for the moment they were concerned with a new world.

The Caen that Tom saw was nestled against a bend of the Orne River about eight miles from the sea. The town had outgrown its medieval walls, some of which had been leveled, and now lay "open" (as Gale said) to the Norman countryside. The city's chief architectural feature was abbeys and churches, one of which, St. Jean, dominated the Grande Rue and of course the de la Chaussée *pension*. On an eminence at the north end of the Grande Rue stood the citadel, still completely walled--the place from which William the Conqueror had once upon a time set off to invade England, a place where Tom would soon discuss fortifications with a French mathematician, and where many years later the Germans would try to hold off the Allied armies. Unfortunately, from Tom's point of view, the city of Caen had not spread far enough into the country to justify a coach and horses for strong young men, even in rainy weather, and saddle horses were out of the question. It was a city of lovely walks, as Gale had promised, and the view from the citadel was not contemptible, but it was not, like Winchendon, a place of great vistas and even greater rides.

If the almost fifteen-year-old Tom had been left to himself, Caen would have been a marvelous place to explore, with its abbeys, its citadel, its river banks, and its strange and lively people who actually spoke French. But Tom had brought keepers with him, and he was seeing Caen from the end of a very short leash; he was being held (as Le Fevre later wrote to Lord Wharton) "*assez court*."³⁶ The regimen that Gale had prepared for his two charges was an order of magnitude more rigorous than the routine Lord Wharton had prescribed at Wooburn; and the precautions he felt himself obliged to take to keep Tom from being corrupted by the free and easy French meant close surveillance. In principle Gale believed that Tom should soak up French manners and customs; in practice he tried

to keep Tom well insulated from unsuitable French companions and from the clear and present danger of meeting girls.

Under the scholarly Gale, Tom's day began (at five A.M.) not merely with catechisms and prayer but also with studies in the Bible and in "practical divinity"--on which he was examined every night. His lessons in Latin and Greek, which now included history and poetry, were supplemented by studies in natural philosophy--including Biblical accounts of creation and then-current theories of what a later age would call meteorology, anatomy, and psychology. He also studied the classical philosophers, whose tenets, Gale taught him, owed their origin to "the Jewish nation and scriptures."³⁷ As at Wooburn, he was drilled in French, geography, and mathematics (mostly by James Le Fevre), and he was supposed to get lessons in dancing and fencing; but in the summer of 1663 fencing was postponed as too strenuous for hot weather, and dancing was soon abandoned in favor of additional Latin, French, and Greek. After supper, from eight to nine, Tom reviewed the day's study with Gale, particularly matters of scripture and doctrine. Then after Gale had heard him read a chapter of the Bible and had listened to his prayers, he was supposed to go to bed. On Saturday, the afternoon was to be spent in religious studies; while Sunday was "to be wholly spent in public and private duties of expounding of scripture, reading practical books, meditation, prayer and...repetition of sermons."³⁸

In confecting a schedule that might have staggered an adult divinity student, Gale had no wish to be demanding or tyrannical; he did not intend to out-Wharton Lord Wharton, and he did not dream that he was helping to produce one of the greatest rakes in England. He was simply putting first things first. Knowing the cosmic importance of the true faith, he wanted to make certain that his students were thoroughly grounded in its precepts. And since he was himself an intellectual and a theorist--a true Oxford don--he could find endless fascination in philosophical discussion and theological debate. He could hardly understand how Tom, who was obviously brilliant, could fail to find the arguments of the Jansenists, say, exciting or how the young man could find beautifully organized sermons--or Sundays in general--interminable.

Gale also put second things second. Since scholarship was next to godliness, Gale concentrated upon academic subjects along with religious instruction and upon preparing Tom and Goodwin for entry into regular school classes. The boys, he noted upon their arrival, had "fallen back" in their language and literature studies,³⁹ and he was determined to bring them up to the mark before turning them over to French masters. For this reason, he reduced the usual Wharton allotment of arts and exercises and filled the time he saved with regular studies--including, for two or three months, lessons from a French master in writing the new and fashionable "Italian hand."⁴⁰ Dancing and music were cut down drastically (except for Goodwin's lessons on the virginals), Tom's request to take

singing lessons was refused, and violent exercise was cut out altogether. Gale persuaded himself that besides saving study time by removing fencing and chivalric games from Tom's schedule he was preventing actual danger. Tom, he told Lord Wharton, was not yet mature enough to ride the "great horse"--that is, to handle a war horse and a lance in chivalric exercises--since the sport was "very painful and dangerous" for those "whose bones and joints are not well fixed."⁴¹

Gale's decision to put secular academic studies right after religion and, for the time being, to put arts and exercises nowhere had at least one good result. Tom and Goodwin were well prepared for formal classes--Tom in Latin oratory and Goodwin in Latin grammar. Both performed admirably for their French masters.⁴² And the decision to forbid Tom to ride war horses may have saved the adolescent boy from falls even more spectacular than some he took later in hunting and horse racing; conceivably it may have saved him from serious injury. But the decisions were nevertheless ill advised, since they further lowered Gale in Tom's opinion. At Wooburn, Gale had seemed merely rigid and unlovable. Now, by forbidding or postponing anything that might be exciting, or even interesting, he seemed to be an enemy to happiness and freedom--the warden of an academic Newgate.

Tom's judgment was unfair but perfectly understandable. Gale, unfortunately, had something of the manner of a prison warden. His natural temperament, as he himself described it, was "morose,"⁴³ and he was humorless as a stone. The sweetness that the learned Thomas Gilbert had discerned in his character was detectable only by scholars (and biographers), as was his genuine passion for knowledge and religion. These showed themselves chiefly on paper. In person he appeared to be a killjoy and a pedant. Ideally, he would have remained safe at Magdalen College instructing candidates for the M. A. or, better yet, at the Bodleian Library writing a treatise on Plato. As it was, he found himself marooned in a foreign city, coping with a language he could not handle fluently, and supervising the education of his anti-type.

Gale's regimen and manner might have provoked Griselda herself to protest. Even Lord Wharton felt impelled to explain to Gale that he did not want his sons "disheartened" or their "spirits broken"⁴⁴--though he insisted, with no sense of contradiction, that the rigorous basic rules he had prescribed should be strictly enforced. Inevitably, then, young Tom stumbled into opposition; and more or less inadvertently, he received his first lessons in resisting authority and exploiting natural advantages. At Winchendon or Wooburn, willful disobedience was unthinkable, and even minor infractions of rules were punished promptly.⁴⁵ But at Caen, the ultimate authority was across the Channel, the instructions given the deputy were ambiguous, and there were friends close at hand.

In his campaign to lengthen his leash, Tom found two allies. The first was James (or Jacques)⁴⁶ Le Fevre, who was as lively as Gale was stolid. He had his own method of teaching French and Latin--by songs, games, and conversation--and he found Gale's formal methods stodgy and slow. Outgoing and social himself, he could see no harm in allowing Tom to mix with French company and participate in games and festivals. Gale, on the other hand, feared that Le Fevre was inclined to read romances, which at Oxford, at least, corrupted the "minds and affections of young gentlemen." He feared moreover that Tom had the same inclination.⁴⁷ And he knew for a fact that in disputes about interpreting Lord Wharton's instructions or allowing liberties, Le Fevre customarily sided against him.

Tom's other friend was John Perkins--an unusual ally in a contest for liberties. In principle, Perkins was a Puritan's Puritan--a precisionist so scrupulous and anti-popish that he made Gale seem worldly. But he was also a *de facto* Wharton, who had known the boys from their infancy and who had served as Goodwin's special guardian since the death of Lady Wharton. He loved Tom and Goodwin, and he could not love Gale. He found it easy, therefore, to make "some grains of allowance" for the boys' lapses from Gale's rigid schedule and to remember his own childhood.⁴⁸ As instructed by Lord Wharton, he dutifully tried to reconcile differences and to support Gale's authority, but his sympathies were always on the side of his young masters. In the end, it was the simple and unscholarly Perkins whose help proved decisive.

The undeclared war, which began with passive resistance and "short fits of passion," arrived at something like a truce in October when Tom and Goodwin began attending regular classes. For large chunks of the morning and afternoon Tom found himself out of Gale's sight, meeting French lads of his own age, sopping up idiomatic French, and showing off his own proficiency in Latin. He was learning too, perhaps for the first time, that he had a remarkable gift for making friends. Gale also profited from the daily respite, which gave him five or six hours a day for his own writing and relieved him from the monotonous duty of saying no. He noted with pleasure that the prospect of classes made the young gentlemen get up in the morning without protest and that they were anxious to please their French masters.⁴⁹ He was obliged, of course, to increase his vigilance in the matter of companions and recreation. He sent his charges to school in the care of Perkins or Le Fevre, and he screened rigorously the companions the boys wished to bring home. He realized that his practice was "a little more strict" and "narrow" than "the French discipline and liberty of conversation," but he believed that he was saving Tom and Goodwin from corruption, that they were given "as much liberty herein as needed," and that he could assert his authority without any further problems.⁵⁰ As of early December, he believed, in fact, that the war was over.

He turned out to be hopelessly wrong. On 5 January (1664), however, before the next series of skirmishes got well underway, Goodwin came down with smallpox, and the little expedition found itself engaged in a much more serious struggle. Dreaded only slightly less than the plague, smallpox was a major seventeenth-century killer, well beyond medical theory at the time and easily proof against the pitiful remedies then available. Later in the century it would destroy Queen Mary II; and a few weeks before Goodwin contracted it, two young children of the de la Chaussées had died with it--or something suspiciously like it.⁵¹

Happily, Goodwin's case proved mild. Although the initial fever, which occurred in the night, put John Perkins "into agitate fears,"⁵² the French physician (a man named Diqueman) who was called in next morning assured the household that the fever was light and the disease unlikely to be mortal. He let three ounces of Goodwin's blood, ordered an enema, and rejected Gale's offer of the Countess of Kent's powder, which he declared good but unnecessary. The next day, after prescribing a mixture of *aqua mirabilis* and distilled water, as well as a "*theri aqui*" (a "treacle" designed to neutralize poisons), he put Goodwin on a diet of veal broth, supplemented sometimes with claret and toast, and forbade the use of English "water gruel."⁵³ Then, satisfied with Goodwin's progress, he left the boy to be nursed by Perkins and a "skillful honest" French woman hired for the occasion.

Goodwin's smallpox, of course, put Tom in great danger. It also put Gale into an agony of indecision. That Tom must be removed from the large bedroom he shared with Goodwin was obvious, but whether he should be removed from the de la Chaussée house was unclear. Since Tom had obviously been exposed already, since Goodwin's case was light, since Doctor Diqueman did not think further removal necessary, and since Gale did not know where to go, he left Tom in the *pension*, dosed him with treacle, and wrote to Lord Wharton for instructions.

Lord Wharton was frightened and incensed. To him it seemed mad that Tom should be left in the same house with Goodwin for a moment or that Gale would wait for instructions that were unlikely to arrive within a week--and that did not actually arrive for three weeks. He fired off orders that Gale should get Tom out of the *pension* immediately and then waited in frustration as successive reports from Gale showed that the orders had not arrived, that Tom was still with the de la Chaussées, and that in the relief over Goodwin's progress everyone seemed content to leave Tom in peril. And he was only a little mollified to learn that when his orders did arrive, they were obsolete. Goodwin was ambulatory, the danger was past, and Gale's poor judgment had been vindicated.

Lord Wharton might have been less nervous about his heir and his younger son if he had not been in danger himself. One of his ex-servants, a man named Walter Jones, and one of his Westmorland tenants, Richard Waller (the father of Robert Waller, his steward at Wharton Manor), were suspected of complicity in the Farnley Woods plot--an aborted rising of old Cromwellians (on 12 October 1663) in Yorkshire and Westmorland. On 5 December, Lord Wharton had been questioned about Jones by Secretary of State Henry Bennet (later Earl of Arlington), who seemed to believe him when he protested his complete ignorance of the plot but who nevertheless went on questioning his friends and servants.⁵⁴ And on 9 January 1664, at the assizes in York, during the trial of the Yorkshire rebels, he was named by one of the defendants as the intended leader of the rising. The evidence was immediately shown to be hearsay and the allegation denied by the man from whom it was said to be derived. The judges seemed, in fact, to shrug off the accusation as the result of an obvious attempt by the conspirators to give prestige to their cause.⁵⁵ Lord Wharton, however, found the matter harder to shrug off. He knew that he had at least one powerful royalist enemy who would be glad to see his properties forfeited and his head adorning Westminster Hall.⁵⁶ He also knew that the trial of the Westmorland conspirators was scheduled for Appleby, where further accusations by desperate rebels could bring disaster. Meantime, the hearsay and the rumors were sure to injure his new friendship with the King, however heartily the King denied believing them.

Lord Wharton's anxiety about his own life and property did not totally subside until late March, when the Appleby assizes produced no charges against him;⁵⁷ but his fears for Tom and Goodwin were allayed in early February when he received a letter from Tom himself:

There is nothing wherein I take a greater satisfaction whilst I am at so great a distance from yourself [Tom wrote] than to think and consider how great a care you take of us. My Brother Gooding is as well again and as strong as ever he was, he goes to the Classis every day, and nobody that did not know that he hath had the small pox would not know that he had it [from] his face, for he hath not the least red nor the least spot that can be perceived, he was ill but two days, and that as gentle as can be. I am extreme sorry that you were so troubled for my not removing, but I believe you will be as glad, as you were before troubled, at the news of my Brother's recovery which, as I think, the happiest and quickest that ever was. We have none of us the least indispo[s]ition, for which I desire to thank God continually. I remain

Dear Father
Your most dutiful son till
Death

My Brother presents his
duty to you and to every
body I also desire the same

T. Wharton⁵⁸

But the rejoicing over Goodwin's recovery--another obvious mercy--did not last long; and the Battle of Caen went into its second phase. Again Gale found difficulty in getting Tom and Goodwin up in the morning, and even more difficulty in getting them to go to bed at night. More alarmingly, he noted that although they learned their catechisms and Biblical chapters admirably, their observance of religious duties, especially upon the Lord's day, needed "more cheerfulness and constancy and intention." The boys were even inclined, if they were not watched closely, "to recreate themselves on that day with music."⁵⁹ Most alarming of all, however, was the fact that Tom was moving from passive to active resistance. Judging himself "fit and capable to choose his company," he began to dispute Gale's authority to choose companions for him and began to bring home lads whom Gale could not approve. He was unwilling also to observe the times and rules set for exercise; and having finally got permission to fence, he sometimes fenced when he should have been digesting his mid-day meal or studying. Such flouting of authority and lack of religious fervor, Gale knew, might "at last end in open wickedness," and stern measures were obviously required.

Since Lord Wharton had disapproved of the severity of Gale's discipline at Wooburn, Gale could not employ "force and violence"⁶⁰ (though the rod, he reminded his employer, was "an ordinance of God").⁶¹ He could, however, ask Lord Wharton to reinforce his authority, and he could threaten Tom with his father's awe-inspiring displeasure. And Gale had barely got off his third letter of complaint when Tom furnished him an example of open defiance. The revolt is perhaps best described in Gale's report to Lord Wharton:

Last Monday night [Gale wrote] there was a masque to be given in the streets [of Caen], which by reason of the lateness of the hour (with other reasons) I conceived it could not be safe for your sons to be present at and having declared my judgment against it, Mr. Wharton [Tom] replied that he intended to have acquainted me with his going, but was resolved to go whether I approved of it or no, and that your Lordship had given them order to see all that was to be seen of such kind. I replied that I presumed your Lordship intended they should have my approbation in such cases. Mr. Wharton replied [that] I would approve of nothing. After supper your sons went to see it notwithstanding my dissuasion, and continued out till half hour past 9 of the clock.⁶²

At another time, Tom's defiance and his attendance at a street masque might have earned him a blast of his father's sternest disapproval. For Lord Wharton's love of the arts stopped short at theater. Like Gale, he had "other reasons" for opposing such frivolous and sometimes licentious activities. It was perfectly true that he had not forbidden Tom to see street masques, but the possibility of such entertainment had probably never crossed his mind. Certainly, he had never issued a favorable "order" on the subject. Earlier Tom had written that he desired to obey his father in all things and that his conscience was

clear of any crime that Gale might impute to him.⁶³ Now, when the heat of combat had subsided, he had reason to fear that he had gone too far.

But this time Lord Wharton did not even bother to answer Gale's letter. By coincidence, on Monday, 15 February, the day of the masque, he had written a long set of orders to all members of the expedition. Typically, he had some reproof for everyone. Tom was ordered to obey Gale in the matter of companions and in the interpretation of instructions; Perkins was re-instructed to support Gale;⁶⁴ and Gale was advised to spend more time with the young gentlemen and to show them more "indulgence and complaisance."⁶⁵

In form, the orders were a victory for Gale, since his authority was reconfirmed and his complaints tacitly acknowledged. In fact, however, the tide had turned. Although Gale had won a battle, he had lost the war. Lord Wharton had come to suspect merely from the volume of the crossfire that Gale could never win the respect and love of his sons, and his suspicions had been confirmed not only by Tom's protests but by a devastating letter from John Perkins to Anne Wharton.⁶⁶ The young gentlemen, Perkins said in effect, had never really liked Gale, and now they slighted his advice and avoided him all they could. Gale, moreover, with his pedantic ways, had become a figure of fun among the adults in Caen; the "ancient" would now "balk and jest" at him. He was so settled in his habits that nothing could make him stay up after nine, and he was so intent upon his own studies that he barely took time to examine Tom on biblical assignments. He was now content to shuffle off most of his responsibilities upon the formal classes. The matter of company was indeed a problem, since Tom and Goodwin were "exceedingly beloved by all" and "any would be glad to come and play with them," but Gale, in protecting the young gentlemen from low companions, was apt to deny the personable and accept those who were "not so well liked."

Convinced by Tom and his allies in Caen, as well as by Anne at St. Giles, that Gale might be the source of the trouble, Lord Wharton asked his trusted friend Robert Bennett, deprived rector of Winchendon, to go investigate the situation. Meantime, before Tom learned that help was on the way, there was one final excursion and alarm in the Battle of Normandy--a "falling out" between Tom and Gale and a threat by Gale to send another complaint to Lord Wharton. This threat, which was not carried out, evoked a memorable letter from Tom to his sister Anne:⁶⁷

You could not have sent me better news [Tom wrote on 23 March/3 April] than that Mr. Gale had not complained to me to my father and that my father is not angry with me, for I assure you that there is nothing that I fear more than my father's anger, nor nothing that I dread more than to displease him; and although I know my father will never be angry with me without some very just ground, and that in my conscience I find myself not guilty of the crimes that are imputed to me, and especially of that of religion, yet I cannot but tremble sometimes to think that my father may be brought (though falsely) to have an ill opinion of me.... Yet methinks I cannot fear anything whilst I do my duty, and that I endeavor to obey my father's commands, which I am resolved to do as long as I live. I thank you, Dear Sister, for the care you take of me, and for the pains that you have always taken to make everything go well with us; I acknowledge myself freely unworthy of all the obligations I have received from you.... I believe that Monsieur [Le

Fevre] hath writ to you the cause of Mr. Gale falling out with us. I remain, Dear Sister,

Your most affectionate Brother
and Servant

T. Wharton

My duty to my father, my Lady,
my service to all my Brothers and
sisters, to Mrs. Carr, to Mrs. Gunter,
and to everybody.

Robert Bennett arrived in Caen in May and soon confirmed what Gale himself suspected and everyone else in Caen knew, that Tom and Goodwin needed a change of tutors. Though Bennett conceded that the boys had made fine academic progress and though he approved the attempt to protect their morals, it was clear that Tom and Gale, in the jargon of a later age, were hopelessly incompatible and that Gale was a good man in the wrong place. These conclusions, in different words, Bennett frankly communicated to Gale and told him that Lord Wharton would probably recall him when a suitable replacement could be found.⁶⁸

Gale accepted defeat with good grace--aware, as he said, of his "unsufficiency"--and he stoically did his duty throughout the summer while he waited to find out if and when he would be relieved of his command. He felt that he had been unfairly charged with severity and neglect (and he knew that he had been underpaid), but he saw the folly of struggling against ingrained opposition in order to retain a position that someone else could fill better. He comforted himself with the knowledge that his charges were still uncorrupted, that they now spoke French like native Normans, and that they had a formidable command of many biblical texts, to say nothing of their progress in the classics. Gale could also congratulate himself upon having learned a great deal personally. By mid-September, when he received definite word from Lord Wharton that he was being replaced,⁶⁹ he had been in France two years, met a number of Huguenot leaders, and become expert in the theological and philosophical controversy that swirled through learned circles. This knowledge he would later put to use in his book on Jansenism and some of his other treatises.⁷⁰

He had also learned a good deal about Tom. He had learned that it was virtually impossible to screen Tom's company, since the young man attracted swarms of friends and since he was just as happy to consort with the lower bourgeois as the upper bourgeois. He had learned further that although Tom was indeed "sweet and flexible," as he had earlier written Lord Wharton, there was a touch of spring steel in the flexibility. Tom would hold still for any number

of biblical, Latin, or Greek chapters, but he would not hear of withdrawing from the school classes, and he bristled with defiance when companions he had chosen by his own private rating system were excluded as low. The only way to break up Tom's friendships, Gale had learned, was to move; and he several times recommended to Lord Wharton that the young men should be moved to Saumur (another Huguenot stronghold) or Paris. But moving was out of the question while the matter of tutors was in suspense; and so while Gale waited for his replacement, he essentially gave up the struggle to save Tom from the French. In effect, he lengthened Tom's leash.

What Tom learned from Gale and the minor victory at Caen, beyond the fact that misrule should be resisted, is more difficult to say, since Gale was only one of the learned and conscientious Puritans who labored to instruct him. Subconsciously, he may have learned that the Elect should be happier and that the "morose and melancholy" may damage faith and morals by advocating them. On another level, Tom probably owes to Gale at least some of the ready knowledge of scriptures which enabled him to discomfit high-church bishops in the House of Lords and which produced what is probably the finest one-line witticism in the reign of Queen Anne.⁷¹ And perhaps when Gale was no longer a threat, Tom learned a certain retroactive admiration for his old tutor. True, Gale was always a pedant and sometimes a trial, but he was never a hypocrite; he was the genuine Puritan article. It is even possible that in 1714 while Tom was defending Dissenting schoolmasters and tutors against the Tory plan to abolish their academies (and while he was skewering Robert Harley in the process),⁷² he had the unlovable Theophilus Gale in the back of his mind.

NOTES

1. Bucks. RO, Aylesbury, Wooburn PR.
2. Philip, Lord Wharton to _____, 22 Apr. 1658, Rawlinson 52, fol. 276.
3. Rawlinson, 49, fols. 11-14.
4. For Tom's affection for Anne, see his letter to her from Caen, [24 Mar.]/3 Apr. 1664 (Rawlinson 49, fol. 174) and Abraham Clifford's letters to her from Paris, 18/28 Nov. and 25 Nov./5 Dec. 1665, about Tom's smallpox (Rawlinson 54, fols. 41, [58]). Also see below, pp. For Tom's affection for Mary, see esp. Tom to Mary Wharton Kemeys, 23 Aug. 1687, Tom to Sir Charles Kemeys, 16 Sept. 1687, Mary Wharton Kemeys to Sir Charles Kemeys, 30 June 1688, Kemeys-Tynte, fols. 101, 104, 640; and below, pp.
5. She bore her husband five sons, the eldest (who became 4th Earl of Lindsey) on 20 Oct. 1660 (Wharton 9, fol. 58; CP). The fact that Lord Wharton married Elizabeth into the Bertie family, which was solidly royalist and later Tory, probably represents political insurance in the chaotic world of 1659. In any case, Robert Bertie, the new son-in-law (then styled Lord Willoughby), intervened with the Restoration government in 1660 to keep Lord Wharton's name from appearing on the proscription list (*Memoirs*, p. 7). Earlier negotiations for a match between Elizabeth and Francis (Greville), Lord Brooke, reached the stage of a proposed marriage settlement, 27 May 1657 (Carte 125, fols. 2-3), before they were broken off. See also, W. Boseville to Lord Wharton, 5 July 1655 (Rawlinson 52, fol. 240); [W. Boseville] to Lord Wharton, n.d. (Rawlinson 52, fol. 226).
6. Philip, Lord Wharton to _____, Rawlinson 52, fol. 276.
7. According to Tom's anonymous biographer (probably John Oldmixon), the improvements to Wooburn cost more than £30,000, a vast sum for the period, and Lord Wharton raised the money by mortgaging Healaugh (*Memoirs*, pp. 7-8, 21); Goodwin says (Autobiography, ii, 55) that the renovation cost £40,000.
8. Lord Wharton, still in mourning, ornamented his black clothes with diamond buttons on this occasion; and at the coronation, on 23 Apr. 1661, the accoutrements of his horse were valued at £8000 (E. R. Wharton, pp. 34-35). Such uncharacteristic and costly ostentation in the normally tight-fisted Lord Wharton is probably a measure of his anxiety--his fear that he would find himself on the black list of the new regime.
9. For the location of the Wharton property, see John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1720), ii, Bk. 4, pp. 74-75. In 1680, Lord Wharton renewed the lease for a period of 99 years (PRO, Prob 11/430, fols. 181-82). In 1686-87, he made extensive renovations (William Taylor to Lord Wharton, 29 Mar. 1686, Rawlinson 104, fol 94; Mary Wharton Kemeys to Sir Charles Kemeys, 19 Mar. 1687, Kemeys-Tynte, fol. 661).
10. There are at least three portraits of Jane, Lady Wharton (whom Cromwell once described as a "temptation")--two portraits by Van Dyck (hence no later than 1640) and a portrait, with Lord Wharton and her baby son Henry, painted by an unknown artist in late 1657 or early 1658--very shortly before her death (a fact deducible from the size of Henry, who was baptized 18 Jan. 1657).
11. *Memoirs*, p. 21.

12. William Carr of Fernihurst, in Roxburghshire, was a gentleman of the bedchamber in the court of James I.

13. It was removed at the Restoration.

14. Two portraits of Anne, Lady Wharton are extant, both painted while Anne was married to Colonel Edward Popham and both offered for sale by Sotheby's in November 1985, when the contents of the Littlecote House, Hungerford, Wilts. (home of the Pophams from 1589 to 1922), were auctioned. The first, by Sir Peter Lely, is a three-quarter length portrait, and the second (attributed in the sales catalogue to a "Follower of Robert Walker") is part of a half-length group portrait, where Anne is pictured with Colonel Popham and their two children Letitia and Alexander. For photographic reproductions, see Sotheby's, *The Contents of Littlecote House*, vol. 1 (1985), pls. 842 and 867. If the Lely portrait is not grossly flattering, one can easily see why Goodwin, who describes his stepmother as "very handsome" (Autobiography, i, 2), fell in love with her.

15. *Goodwin Wharton*, pp. 10-11.

16. Royal Society, *Philosophical Transactions*, v. 1098-99; John Wallis, *A Defence of the Royal Society* (London, 1678), pp. 3-4, 9; Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell* (London, 1720), p. 53.

17. The study schedules are extant, Rawlinson 49, fols. 3-11.

18. Baptized 29 June 1662 (St. Giles-in-the-Fields PR, consulted by courtesy of Peter David Wheatland, Verger).

19. All the Wharton children except Philadelphia and Henry (seven and five years old, respectively) were given lessons on the harpsichord ("harpsicall") under a master named Honikson, and all were given singing and dancing lessons (Rawlinson 49, fol. 11). The older girls--Anne, Margaret, and Mary--were also given lessons on the guitar and the theorbo, and they devoted at least two hours a day to painting (Lord Wharton's favorite art). As I have pointed out elsewhere (*Goodwin Wharton*, p. 347, n. 9), Macaulay in his sketch of Tom (v. 2402) was right about the piety of the Wharton household but grotesquely wrong about its attitude towards the arts and exercises.

20. See "Mr Romerill[s] method of teaching Mr Wharton Lattin," Rawlinson 49, fol. 9.

21. Rawlinson 49, fol. 14.

22. Rawlinson 52, fol. 298.

23. For sketches of Theophilus Gale, see DNB; Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of His Life and Times*, 2d ed. (London, 1713), ii, 64-65; *Calamy Revised*.

24. Gale to Lord Wharton, c. mid-June 1662, Rawlinson 49, fol. 44.

25. Gale to Lord Wharton, 24 June 1662, Rawlinson 49, fol. 48.

26. John Perkins to Anne Wharton, c. 5 Feb. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 296. "I must needs confess," Perkins writes, "I beeleeve my masters [Tom and Goodwin] had a prejudice against the man [Gale] always and never had anie liking to him...."

27. Gale to Lord Wharton, 24 July 1662, 29 July 1662, undated (c. 4 Aug 1662), Rawlinson 49, fols. 56, 41, 60; 4 Aug. 1662, 15 Aug. 1662, Rawlinson 52, fols. 359, 362. It is worth noting that Gale's use of the word "fit" for an attack of fever (a good 17th c. usage) seems to have made E. R. Wharton (Wharton MS 10, opp. p. 1) and Carswell (p.) suspect that Goodwin was epileptic or hysterical. He was not, nor was he "weak and sickly," as Carswell says. Except for the siege of fever in the summer of 1662 and a very light case of smallpox in 1664, he was remarkably healthy until his stroke in March 1698. That Goodwin was magnificently eccentric is perfectly true; that he was a weakling, an alcoholic, or an incompetent is perfectly false.

28. Carte 117, fol. 88, as quoted in Wharton 9, pp. 21-22. The fact that a passport was issued misled Edward Ross Wharton (who had not ploughed through Rawlinson 49 and 54) into assuming, and writing, that the two girls and young Henry actually went to France with their two brothers and that they arrived there in 1662 (E. R. Wharton, p. 41). In fact, however, Mary, Philadelphia, and Henry did not go to France at all; and Tom and Goodwin did not arrive in Caen until 25 June 1663. Only Theophilus Gale reached France in the autumn of 1662. E. R. Wharton's error has been repeated several times--perhaps most recently by Philip Jenkins in his otherwise excellent article, "Mary Wharton and the Rise of the 'New Woman'," *Journal*, xxii, no. 2 (Winter, 1981), p. 173.

29. Gale to Lord Wharton, 15 Aug. 1662, Rawlinson 52, fol. 362.

30. Gale to Lord Wharton, 13/23 Oct. 1662, Rawlinson 49, fol. 71.

31. Gale to Lord Wharton, 22 Nov./2 Dec. 1662, Rawlinson 49, fol. 75.

32. Rawlinson 49, fol. 79.

33. Gale gives the date of arrival in reckoning up his accounts with Lord Wharton more than a year after the event. Gale to Lord Wharton, [26 Sept.]/6 Oct. 1665, Rawlinson 49, fol. 235.

34. *Aqua mirabilis* was a combination of "cloves, galangals [galingale], cubebs, mace, cardomums [cardamoms], nutmegs, ginger, and spirit of wine, digested twenty-four hours, then distilled" (OED).

35. The ingredients in this formidable mixture are as follows: the black tips of crabs claws, contrayerva root, pearls, red and white coral, crabs eyes, lemon juice, white amber and crystals, rose water, burnt hartshorn, citron juice, spirits of vitriol, occidental bezoar, earth of Lemnos, ceruse of antimony, ambergris, musk, jelly of viper skins, and saffron. For proportions and mixing instructions, see John Quincy, *Pharmacopeia Officinalis and Extemporanea, or a Complete English Dispensatory*, 15th ed. (London, 1782), pp. 478-79.

36. 2/12 Feb. 1664, Rawlinson 53, fol. 114.

37. The phrase occurs in Gale's outline of studies for Tom and Goodwin: "A Diary of Studies and Other Exercises," Rawlinson 49, fols. 1-3. Gale's theory that classical languages and philosophies derived from the Hebrew tradition and are corrupted forms of a pure original is the basic theme of his major work *The Court of the Gentiles, in 4 Parts* (Oxford, London, 1669-77). The "Diary" (in Gale's autograph) shows that he was teaching his theory to Tom in Caen.

38. [Theophilus Gale], "A Diary for Studies and Other Exercises," Rawlinson 49, fol. 2.

39. Gale to Lord Wharton, 6/16 July 1663, Rawlinson 49, fol. 93.

40. Gale to Lord Wharton, 9/19 Aug. 1663 and 5 Nov. 1663, Rawlinson 49, fols. 63, 112.

41. Gale to Lord Wharton, 8/18 Oct. 1663, Rawlinson 49, fol. 108.
42. Gale to Lord Wharton, 11/21 Feb. 1664, 3/13 Apr. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fols. 83, 171. Tom (Gale wrote in the letter of 3/13 April) had attained "such perfection" in Latin oratory "that the [French] Regent of the Classe does much glory in him...& does publish his elogies throughout the town."
43. Gale to Lord Wharton, c. 1/11 June 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 191.
44. Lord Wharton's notes for a letter to Gale, c. 1 Aug. 1663, Rawlinson 49, fol. 4; Gale to Lord Wharton, 10/20 Aug 1663, Rawlinson 49, fol. 100.
45. At the end of the children's study schedule of 14 Nov. 1662 is the notation: "If any of y^m doe amisse Let my Lord be acquainted that night if at home, if abroad M^r. Romerill to chasten the 2 eldest boyes M^{rs} Gunter y^e rest of y^e Little ones if my Lord be absent, if he be at home, to bring them to my Lord." Rawlinson 49, fol. 14.
46. Le Fevre, who was probably christened Jacques, usually signs his letters (to Englishmen) as James, though one letter, in French, to Lord Wharton is signed *Jacques*. In the passport of 8 Aug. 1662, he is designated as "Monsieur de Febre" (Wharton 9, p. 21).
47. Gale to Lord Wharton, 10/20 Aug. 1663, Rawlinson 49, fol. 100.
48. John Perkins to Anne Wharton, c. 5/15 Feb. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 296.
49. Gale to Lord Wharton, 5/15 Nov. 1663, Rawlinson 49, fol. 112.
50. Gale to Lord Wharton, 9/19 Dec. 1663, Rawlinson 49, fol. 115.
51. Gale to Lord Wharton, 5/15 Nov. 1663, Rawlinson 49, fol. 112.
52. John Perkins to Mary Wharton "at S^{nt} giles in the feilds," c. 8/18 Jan. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 126. Ironically, thirty-five years later, on 2 Apr. 1699, Mary herself died of smallpox. See below, p.
53. Gale to Lord Wharton, 7/17 Jan. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 129.
54. Lord Wharton's holograph notes on his interview with Bennet, dated 5, 6 Dec. 1663, Carte 81, fol. 154. Lord Wharton to [Sir Thomas Wharton], 15 Dec. 1663, Carte 81, fol. 153. As Arlington, it should be added, Bennet became the first *a* in *Cabal*--a famous acronym derived from the titles of Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, the post-Clarendon ministers of Charles II.
55. Sir Thomas Wharton to Lord Wharton, 11 Jan. 1664, 15 Jan. 1664, Carte 81, 169, 159;
_____ to Lord Wharton (account of the "Trialls at Yorke"), Carte 81, fols. 197-98.
56. He does not name the man he suspects of maneuvering against him behind the scenes, but he says several times in his correspondence with his brother Sir Thomas that there is such a man and that Sir Thomas knows who it is.
57. T. G. to Lord Wharton, 22 Mar. 1664, Carte 81, fol. 223.

58. [25 Jan.]/4 Feb. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. [143]. Lord Wharton may not have been cheered by Tom's phrase "your dutiful son till Death." It is worth noting that Tom's signature *T. Wharton* is the one he continued to use after he became a peer. He did not drop the *T* and simply write his title (*Wharton*), as other peers did. In this seeming idiosyncrasy, he appears to have followed the example of his father, who sometimes signs letters *P. Wharton* (e.g., Lord Wharton to John Perkins, 22 Sept. 1664, Rawlinson 53, fol. 192).
59. Gale to Lord Wharton 8/18 Feb. 1664, Carte 49, fol. 156.
60. Ibid.
61. Gale to Lord Wharton, [18]/28 Feb. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 168.
62. Ibid.
63. Tom to Lord Wharton, 1/11 Feb. 1664, Rawlinson 53, fol. 113.
64. The letters (or letter) Lord Wharton wrote to Gale, Tom, Goodwin, and Perkins on 15/25 Feb. 1664 have disappeared, but the summary notes on their contents, in Lord Wharton's handwriting, are extant in Rawlinson 49, fol. 18.
65. Gale to Lord Wharton, 2 Apr. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 171. Gale says that he has not received a letter from Lord Wharton since the one dated 15 Feb. and that in obedience to his last orders, he has "manifested some indulgence & complaisance" towards the boys, "especially Mr. Wharton [Tom] more then formerly."
66. John Perkins to Anne Wharton, c. 5/15 Feb. 1664, Rawlinson 49 fol. 296.
67. Rawlinson 49, fol. 174.
68. Gale to Lord Wharton, 19/29 May 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 187
69. Draft, letter Lord Wharton to Gale, written 22 July 1664, but "nott sent till 12th Sep: 1664," Rawlinson 49, fol. 20.
70. Theophilus Gale, *The True Idea of Jansenisme, both Historick and Dogmatick* (London, 1669); *The Anatomy of Infidelity* (London, 1672); *The Court of the Gentiles, in 4 Parts* (Oxford, London, 1669-77).
71. See below, p. [pope, devil, & pretender story].
72. See the debate on the Schism Bill, 4 June 1714, *Parl. Hist.*, vi, 1351-52; *Political State*, vii, 477-79; *Memoirs*, pp. 103-04; below, pp.

Chapter 3

INNOCENTS ABROAD

The man Lord Wharton sent to replace Theophilus Gale and establish harmony at Caen was Abraham Clifford. Like Gale, Clifford was a Puritan displaced by the Restoration, and like Gale his aim was to produce replicas of Lord Wharton. Clifford was also the same age as Gale--thirty-six in the autumn of 1664. Unlike Gale, however, he was flexible and personable, and he was not writing a treatise on the heathen philosophers. Clifford had been a Fellow at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he had received his B.A., M.A. and B.D. degrees; and he had served there as Junior Proctor and Dean¹--positions that had added to his knowledge about dealing with young men. In the summer of 1664 he was recommended to Lord Wharton as "every way fit" to be tutor to the young Whartons, though it was pointed out that his clothing was a little "too spruce and fine" for some Puritan tastes.² In July when he presented himself at Wooburn, he made a favorable impression not only upon Lord Wharton, who obviously found his dress unobjectionable, but also upon Tom's sister Anne, the natural guardian of Tom's interests at home.³ The fact that Clifford turned out to be related, though distantly, to Lady Anne Clifford,⁴ Lord Wharton's friend and relative in the North, was also a point in his favor.

Clifford arrived in Caen and met Tom and Goodwin for the first time on 6/16 October 1664. Like Gale before him, he was at once struck by the obvious intelligence of his charges (their "quick, lively, and pregnant parts") and by their "loving and ingenuous" temperaments. Clifford observed that Tom, who had just turned sixteen, was "more ductile and persuadable" than his brother and that Goodwin, now eleven, was "more knotty and reserved."⁵ He also observed that both boys disliked Gale and that discipline had practically collapsed.

The young gentlemen, in turn, greeted Clifford with great enthusiasm. Tom assured his father that Clifford was "a man of very great parts" and that "in the providing of Mr. Clifford" Lord Wharton had shown the highest concern not only for the "edification and breeding" of his sons but also for their "satisfaction and contentment."⁶ John Perkins too saw reason for great hope. Clifford impressed him as "a godly, judicious, honored and sober man" who would constantly promote "piety, learning and manners" and banish the "fears and troubles" which had beset the expedition.⁷ Gale himself, with commendable candor and self effacement, praised his successor. "I am much satisfied," he wrote Lord Wharton, "that the conduct of your sons is in so good a hand as Mr. Clifford's, whose wisdom, authority, and sweetness of disposition...I must confess renders him much fitter for it than myself."⁸

As it happened, Clifford arrived at a time of more than usual confusion. In late September, without consulting Lord Wharton in advance, James Le Fevre had taken a

bride--a young woman, as he explained, "well bred, well spoken, very handsome, and of a noble carriage."⁹ He had further risked Lord Wharton's displeasure by holding the wedding on a Sunday and then "profaning the day" with festivities, including dancing, in the de la Chaussée household. Worse yet, the celebration had spilled over into the boys' chamber, and Tom and Goodwin had participated in spite of Gale's efforts to stop them.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, Lord Wharton recalled Le Fevre, along with his new wife, to Wooburn. He might have forgiven the Sunday dancing, which even Gale seemed to find comparatively venial in view of the customs of the Huguenots and the "active inclinations" of youth, but he could not be enthusiastic about allowing his sons to dwell with a beautiful young woman and warm young love.

The departure of the bright and lively Le Fevre followed shortly after the arrival of Clifford, as did the departure of Gale. After three or four weeks, therefore, Clifford was essentially left alone to face the problems of education and the question of whether or not to leave Caen. He perceived at once what Gale had learned by long and costly experience that practically everything hinged upon Tom's character--upon how much the "ductile and persuadable" young man would stand. He also saw that the task of sorting out Tom's acquaintances and preventing the *pension* from becoming a young gentleman's club instead of a Puritan academy would be delicate and difficult. He did not yet believe, however, that the task was impossible; and although, like Gale, he believed that the simplest solution to the problems was to leave town, he could see reasons for staying a while longer--at least until Tom and Goodwin had absorbed the abrupt changes in their entourage.¹¹

By mid-December, Clifford realized that he had made a mistake--that he should have insisted from the first upon getting Tom and Goodwin out of Caen. He found himself as helpless as Gale in such matters as removing Tom from a class in philosophy or turning away the boys, including a few English lads, who sought Tom's company.¹² Tom, who had shone in Latin oratory and rhetoric, found logic and metaphysics dull. He agreed with Clifford that the philosophy taught in the class was "obsolete, nugatory, and intricate." But the class, as a collection of his French peers, was a delight. He would not hear of leaving it. Similarly, as a general proposition, he would concede that there was such a thing as low and unworthy company; but nothing less than a direct order from Lord Wharton would make him agree to exclude any particular boy.

Clifford was much too wise to engage in a contest of wills or to provoke the passions and protests that had doomed Gale. Nor did he try to follow Lord Wharton's hopeless suggestion that he should limit Tom's acquaintance to boys under fourteen, who were less apt to bring up such hazardous subjects as "drink and women."¹³ He was also too wise to incur the odium of tearing Tom and Goodwin away from their friends. He would not

order a removal from Caen without a positive command from Lord Wharton. Mere permission, which Lord Wharton gave in early November, would not suffice.

The basic difficulty, as Clifford explained to Lord Wharton (who had not seen his sons for a year and a half), was that Tom had "grown a man" since he left Wooburn. It was now too late to select the "associates" he insisted upon having; and it seemed better to receive his choices at the *pension*, where they could be supervised, than to try keeping them under surveillance elsewhere.¹⁴ In any case, Clifford worried less about drink and women, which he could probably guard against, than about "loose, irreligious, and antipuritannical principles," which were invisible. He also feared that Goodwin, who admired his older brother and imitated him in "the most minute action," would catch any worldly taint that might infect Tom.

Clifford, unfortunately, did not explain to Lord Wharton (and hence to historians and biographers) what Tom looked like now that he had become a man. It remained for John Macky, a spy for King William, to observe many years later that Tom was "of a middle stature" and "fair complexion."¹⁵ It remained for Thomas Flatman to reproduce Tom's features on a miniature¹⁶ when Tom was about thirty and for Sir Godfrey Kneller to picture him at about fifty in the famous Kit-Kat Club portrait.¹⁷ And it remained for Goodwin's wily mistress Mary Parish to report in 1686 (as from a lady alchemist) that Tom was even more handsome than Goodwin, whom she had earlier described (quoting, she said, a princess) as the "handsomest man" in England, Italy, or Portugal.¹⁸

By the time Clifford and Lord Wharton got their signals straight on who was to order the removal from Caen and where the boys were to go, it was wet and wintry and too late to go anywhere. Tom and Goodwin, therefore, remained among their friends until April of 1665; and what Gale had intended as a few months of preparation for Paris had turned into almost two years. Tom had become a virtual citizen of Caen and so fluent in French that he could have posed in Paris as a Frenchman (as his father suggested he should, in order to avoid dissolute Englishmen).¹⁹ Providentially, most of Clifford's fears had been unrealized. Tom's faith and morals had remained uncorrupted in spite of his popularity. He might, indeed, have picked up some bad language from some of his classmates, who shocked Clifford with obscenities as they accompanied the Wharton cavalcade out of town;²⁰ but if Tom learned to swear in French before he learned to swear in English, Clifford never heard him do so. Providentially too, Clifford's forbearance and diplomacy had solidified Tom's initial respect and trust. Except where company was concerned, Clifford found Tom as biddable, reasonable, and charming as he had first supposed; and Tom wrote no letters of complaint to Lord Wharton.

The Whartons left Caen for Paris on the morning of 3/13 April 1665. As a special treat, Clifford had agreed that the young gentlemen could ride on horseback for the first

leg of the journey, and he had not only hired horses but equipped Tom and Goodwin with boots, spurs, and pistols. Appropriately, a group of friends assembled to accompany the boys on the first few miles of the journey and, as it turned out, to witness some unscheduled drama. Furnished with this select audience, young Goodwin could not resist the temptation to show off his horsemanship. As the cavalcade was getting underway, he tried to make his horse prance, and the mettlesome beast threw him. The fall gave the assemblage, and especially Clifford, a few moments of panic; but Goodwin scrambled to his feet unhurt, traded horses with John Perkins, and led the cavalcade out of Caen on the road towards Rouen.²¹

After a week spent in exploring with Clifford "the most considerable things" in Rouen, the young Whartons journeyed to Paris, where they arrived on April 14/24. There the party took up residence on the Left Bank in the Ville de Brisac, a *pension* operated by one Monsieur Panton in the Rue des Boucheries. This street, which was obliterated in the 1860s by the Boulevard St. Germain, ran east from the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés to the Porte St. Germain in the old wall which guarded the University area.²² Thus the young men found themselves strategically located for seeing the Paris of Louis XIV. They were within easy walking distance of the Luxembourg Gardens and Palace (then the *Palais d'Orléans*), the Sorbonne, and the St. Germain Fair; and they were only a mile or so from Notre Dame on the Ile de la Cité and from the Tuileries, the Louvre, and the Palais Royale across the Seine.

They were not well located, however, to remain incognito, as Lord Wharton had hoped they might. Other Englishmen also preferred the neighborhood of the Luxembourg "in regard of the openness of the air",²³ and Clifford saw that it would be futile to try to hide the boys' identity. Nor was it possible, as Lord Wharton had suggested, to insulate Tom and Goodwin from young English gentlemen (mostly Anglicans) who were being shepherded by governors. Lord Wharton supposed that as the young Whartons immersed themselves in Paris--"the flower of all [places] for learning experience and indeed for all things,"²⁴ as he said--they could be surrounded by learned civil lawyers, famous scholars, eminent artists, sober travelers, and grave Huguenot ministers. In fact, however, they were obliged to exchange visits with a number of Englishmen. It was Clifford's business to decontaminate such exchanges and make them as profitable as possible.

Very wisely, Clifford began at the top. He first introduced Tom and Goodwin to Denzell, Lord Holles of Ifield, now the English Ambassador Extraordinary to Louis XIV, but once upon a time as plain Denzell Holles a leader of the opposition to Charles I in the Long Parliament and an ally of the young Lord Wharton. Lord Holles received the two lads and Clifford very warmly and asked them to convey a greeting to his old friend. He was, he said, "very much" Lord Wharton's servant.²⁵ Clifford also took the young

gentlemen to visit Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, and Elizabeth, "his lady," who were about to leave Paris for Bourbon.²⁶ The thirty-five year old Essex, unlike Holles, came from the Royalist side of the revolutionary fence. His father, in fact, had been executed by Parliament for his part in the Civil Wars, and Essex had received his earldom in 1661 principally as a reward for his father's loyalty to the throne. When he received Tom, in early May 1665, he was in the good graces of Charles II. There was as yet no evidence that the son of a Royalist martyr would eventually become a Whig martyr.

In introducing Tom and Goodwin to Lord Holles and the Earl of Essex, Clifford sought only "a little [to] acquaint them with the modes of civility and deportment," in which, he said, they were "much unskilled." He did not dream that the introductions had historical significance. He could not know that when Tom met Holles and Essex, he was meeting two future political friends, or that the three men would epitomize stages in the struggle for responsible government--Holles the proto-Whig, who refused to render unto Caesar the things that were not Caesar's; Essex, a leader of the first Whigs to be called Whigs and a victim of the first Tory reaction; and Tom, the organizer par excellence of the party that ultimately triumphed.

What the two noblemen thought of the sixteen-year-old Tom is not recorded, nor did Tom write his first impressions of his future friends. It is unlikely that he was much interested in elderly gentlemen of sixty-six and thirty-five, however splendid, distinguished, and friendly. Nor was he as yet concerned with English politics. He had been away from England for almost two years, and his political studies had been confined to the Greeks and the Romans. According to Clifford, he was as "unskilled" in contemporary affairs as he was in the higher social graces--so unschooled, in fact, that he could not appear in the courts of German princes and electors with any sort of credit.²⁷

One of the things that did interest Tom was fencing, and his enthusiasm for the sport cost him a bout of chills and fever. After working up a copious sweat while stripped to his "drawers," he could not be persuaded to put on his breeches or wrap himself in his cloak. As a result of cooling off too quickly, he found himself confined to bed for three days with a sore throat and an "ague" and, to his further dismay, restricted to a liquid diet. Clifford, who would eventually become a physician with training at Leyden and an honorary M. D. from Oxford, found Tom a difficult patient. He absolutely refused to take an enema, as prescribed by Clifford, or endure the blood-letting and laxatives that French doctors favored; and when he was finally allowed such items of light diet as poached eggs and boiled-bread pudding, he would not eat them. He complained of being starved and asked for meat. Clifford was at his wit's end before the symptoms vanished, apparently of their own accord. But if Tom was a reluctant patient, he was a quick learner. Thereafter, he put on his cloak after fencing.²⁸

Since the Paris of Louis XIV was infinitely fascinating to young Englishmen and since, as another Englishman of the period remarked, a traveller could spend six months simply looking at the sights,²⁹ Clifford did not suppose that Tom and Goodwin would accomplish much academically. His strategy, in fact, was to show the young gentlemen as much as he could as fast as he could and then get them on to some sober place like Montpellier or Geneva, where they could make some solid academic progress before completing the grand (counterclockwise) tour of Rome, Venice, Vienna, Heidelberg, and Brussels. For this reason he asked Lord Wharton to send horses. These, he supposed, would not only allow the party to travel through southern France in ease and style but also help to pry the young men out of Paris without protest. Then too, the horses could probably be sold in Montpellier or Geneva at a profit.

Lord Wharton sent horses, and he sent Anthony Wharton (a distant relative) to take care of them; but he also sent a new set of orders. There would be no stays in Montpellier or Geneva, and the grand tour would go clockwise--from Paris to Brussels and from there to Heidelberg. The young gentlemen would meet the Germans before making their way via Vienna and Venice to Rome and Naples. In vain Clifford protested that no English aristocrat went to Germany before going to Italy, that the young men were not ready for German courts, that the party would need a German-speaking interpreter, that the expedition could not ride horseback all the way to Vienna, and that the chances of selling the horses profitably in the German hinterlands were remote. Lord Wharton, who had a whim of iron, was unimpressed by Clifford's arguments or by the fact that war was breaking out between England and the Dutch Republic--a war which might spread to the Spanish Netherlands. He insisted upon the Brussels-Heidelberg route³⁰, and he instructed Clifford to sell the horses in Paris if they would not bring a profit elsewhere.

Abraham Clifford, who would one day become physician and private secretary to the Prince of Orange,³¹ was a man of many talents; but selling horses was not one of them. For two frustrating months he tried vainly to find buyers for the Wharton horses--a problem complicated by an epidemic of glanders in the Paris region. Meanwhile, he used the horses to tour the environs of Paris with Tom and Goodwin. The young men were taken to St. Denis, Vincennes, Montmartre, St. Germain-en-Laye, and Versailles³² (where Louis was only beginning to construct his famous palace).

Towards the end of July, Clifford treated Tom to a scene more memorable than the suburbs of Paris and even more symbolic than the meetings with Holles and Essex. He took Tom to see a review of the King's army. Considered simply as a spectacle, the army of Louis XIV was a splendid affair--certainly worth the severe sunburn and the blisters that Tom got from watching it.³³ With its muskets, its pikes, its swords, its sashes, its boots, its hats, its plumes, and its horses, it was also worthy of the romantic imagination

that later ages bestowed upon it. Considered abstractly, as a force within France and Europe, it was more impressive still. Though it was not yet the central anxiety of the late seventeenth century, it was already, under leaders like Turenne and Condé, the best army in Europe; and it was the sure foundation of a royal dictatorship. With the loyalty and backing of a disciplined fighting force, Louis had already learned how to make aristocrats run on time. And when he made grandiloquent statements like "L'état c'est moi," no one cared to contradict him.

As for Tom (who was about a month short of his seventeenth birthday) standing with Clifford broiling in the Paris sun, the thought could hardly have crossed his mind that he was previewing his life's work--that the last twenty-five years of his political career would be largely devoted to stopping Louis and his formidable regiments. Nor could it have occurred to him that the time not spent on Louis would often be devoted to protecting men like Clifford against the Anglican zealots who wished to silence them. As for Clifford, equally unprophetic, he was more concerned about the condition of Tom's sunburned skin than about the splendor of the royal troops. He did not even bother to name the generals involved.

In early August, Clifford gave up trying to sell the Wharton horses. He decided to use them instead for the first part of the journey, as far as Heidelberg; and on the morning of 2/12 August, he finally led his troop out of Paris and began what was intended to be a grand tour. In addition to Clifford himself, Tom, Goodwin, and Perkins, the expedition now consisted of Anthony Wharton, a stable boy, a German tutor named Sternagel, and three friends who were to accompany the party as far as Brussels. Aside from the difficulties that Clifford had with John Perkins, whom he considered an insubordinate fossil, and Sternagel, whom he considered a moral delinquent,³⁴ the journey through Northern France and the southern part of the Spanish Netherlands was pleasant and instructive. The young men saw rich estates, abbeys, and cities; fine gardens, "magnificent" churches, and "diligent" artificers; and they also saw such imposing fortress towns as Cambrai, Valenciennes, Namur, Tournai and Liège in areas that King William and Marlborough would later dispute with the French.

But the tour never reached Heidelberg--or even Aix-la-Chapelle. When Clifford halted his party at the Spa (about fifteen miles east of Liège) and went forth with Sternagel to reconnoitre, he learned that the black plague, which was then desolating London³⁵ and the seaport towns of the Low Countries, was sweeping the Rhine cities as well, and that it had already appeared in Aix. He also learned that smoldering hostilities between the electors of Heidelberg and Mainz had broken out into actual warfare. His intended route, therefore, was infested with soldiers as well as the plague, and there remained nothing to do but retreat to the uninfected cities of Flanders and wait for

instructions.³⁶ When Lord Wharton could think of no way out of the impasse, the grand tour dwindled to a few weeks of sightseeing in Hainault, Brabant, and Flanders.³⁷ On 1/11 October the young men were back in Paris at their old lodgings in the Rue des Boucheries.³⁸

The return to Paris meant a return to a by-now classical problem. Paris, as Clifford explained once again to Lord Wharton, was a glorious distraction. It was unexcelled for "exercises," like fencing and dancing. It was also an elegant school for the social graces. In early June, Tom and Goodwin had been able to see the Queen, the Dauphin, "Monsieur" (Philippe, duc d'Orléans, the King's brother) and "Madame"³⁹ (the wife of Monsieur and the sister of Charles II) during the absence of the King; and on 10/20 November, they accompanied Lord Holles to the royal court and saw the Grand Monarch himself.⁴⁰ But the city was fatal to books. Tom "ingeniously" confessed to his tutor that although he wished to study, he could not study in Paris. Inevitably too, Tom made friends, both French and English, and inevitably Clifford worried about their moral characters and about friends in general. "I find Mr. Wharton when alone is easily governable," he wrote, "but not so when in company, or with his acquaintance."⁴¹

Clifford, of course, wanted to leave Paris, but while he waited for directions from Lord Wharton, the decisions were once more made by disease and politics. On Saturday, 11/21 November, Tom came down with smallpox. Tom's attack, unlike his brother's, was virulent and perilous. Though it started gently with a slight fever, it developed by Sunday night into nausea and by Monday morning into "a terrible burning fit" that brought delirium and made Perkins "very much doubt of him."⁴² Monday also brought a French physician, who approved of the Countess of Kent's powder and who was not so addicted to bloodletting that he could not be persuaded by Clifford to postpone the standard French treatment. He and Clifford did not succeed, however, in reducing Tom's raging fever, and by Tuesday evening the cool and competent Clifford could not help entertaining "sad thoughts" about his patient. Though the delirium had gone, Tom had sunken into a torpor; he "took no notice" of the people around him.⁴³

Then, about midnight, the crisis passed. The pox began to break out "well and kindly," and the fever began to abate. By Wednesday morning, Tom was breathing normally, the soreness in his throat was gone, and his "spirits" were "more lively." Clifford and Perkins, now cautiously hopeful, dared to write their first reports to Lord Wharton. But the battle was not over. On Thursday afternoon, Tom began to relapse into delirium, and that night he became "by fits violent"--"wild" and "raving." When these alarming symptoms continued on Friday, Clifford brought in several physicians for consultation--being unwilling, as he said, to trust the advice of only one.⁴⁴ And when they agreed, after the manner of French doctors, that Tom should be "let blood," he did not dare over-

rule them. Somewhat to Clifford's surprise, the treatment seemed to work. In any event, Tom slept well that night, the "distempers of his head" disappeared, and the pox, which had ceased temporarily to come out, were now "well augmented." On Saturday morning, Tom seemed once more out of danger.⁴⁵

After his close brush with death, Tom recovered slowly; and being much too weak to refuse any treatments, he was subjected to another bloodletting, several enemas, and a heroic blistering. This last treatment, favored by Clifford over bleeding, was designed to draw noxious humors out of the patient; and in Tom's case, at least, it succeeded in producing, along with great blisters, a good deal of ugly liquid.⁴⁶ It also succeeded in making Clifford feel better. Nothing, unfortunately, could improve Tom's appearance, which for the time being had become grotesque. Besides the pox and blisters on his body, he had a face full of large pox and a shaven head--the last, the result of a scalp infection he had picked up at Caen. He looked so woebegone and comical that the normally sober Clifford was provoked into something very like wit.

The truth is [Clifford wrote to Anne], he is so hideous a spectacle, as 'tis to be feared you would scarcely have an affection for him should you see him as now he is. At present he is almost out of love with himself. If you would now have a picture of him, you must imagine to yourself either Naaman the Leper, or Job sitting on the dunghill and scraping of his sores, or Lazarus lying at the rich man's gate.⁴⁷

Clifford could afford to be jocular because the danger had passed and because he was reasonably sure Tom's face would recover its "former hue and complexion" and would not be pitted with scars--a confidence that turned out to be justified.

While Tom was recovering and Clifford was blessing God for yet another providence, King Louis was busy determining their future. By early December, it was clear that he intended to enter the Anglo-Dutch war on the side of the Dutch and that the Wharton party would soon find themselves enemy aliens. For this reason it was necessary to leave France--either to return home or to find sanctuary in Italy, Geneva, or Germany. Interestingly enough, Tom voted for further travel. Though he had not been home for more than two and a half years, he wished to see Italy before returning or, failing that, Heidelberg (which was once more at peace after its baroque war). He would agree, nevertheless, to come home, he said, if his father would let him go abroad again when the war was over.⁴⁸

But Lord Wharton vetoed the suggestion of more travel and ordered his sons to return to England. And since the Channel was full of Dutch privateers and would soon be full of French privateers as well, he instructed them to return with Lord Holles, the Ambassador,

who would have a naval escort and diplomatic passes for his ships. As it happened, Lord Wharton's eminently sensible orders entailed a delay of five months. For reasons of state, health, and romance,⁴⁹ Holles remained in Paris many weeks after the official declaration of war (on 6 January 1666); and the young Whartons remained there too. It was mid April before Clifford took the young men down the river to Rouen to wait for Holles and the convoy,⁵⁰ and it was 22 May/1 June when they actually boarded ship at Dieppe.⁵¹ Meantime, the extra months in Paris meant that Tom had spent a year there. He had become as familiar with the French capital as he was with the London of Charles II--the London that was about to be destroyed by fire.

When Clifford returned Tom to Wooburn, about three years after the young man had left it, he had reason to be pleased with his own performance as governor--which was to be continued for some months longer. As far as faith and morals were concerned, he was returning Tom virtually in mint condition. While it was true that Tom might have picked up a "slight soil" from young Frenchmen at Caen and young Englishmen in Paris and while Tom did not show quite enough fervor for Sunday observances, these blemishes were entirely superficial. They could be removed, Clifford thought, by a little fatherly admonition and a few weeks under Lord Wharton's discerning eye. Academically, of course, Clifford had not accomplished all he had hoped, but this too could be remedied at Wooburn, which was free from loose Frenchmen and Anglican tourists. Nor had Tom's scholarly accomplishments been negligible, despite the distractions. Though he had found logic dull, he had written praiseworthy papers and exercises on the subject; he had further sharpened his Latin and Greek; and, of course, he had added significantly to his knowledge of scriptures. Most important, however, for his future career, was his saturation in French. The fact that Tom could handle French, both idiomatic and formal (including the subjunctive),⁵² would make him more effective as Comptroller of King William's polyglot household and as Lord Privy Seal for King George I (who was at home in French and sometimes at sea in English).⁵³ His fluency in the language of diplomacy (and sometimes of treason) would enable him to serve on the commission for concluding a treaty of alliance between England and Holland and on several parliamentary investigating committees. His French would also enable him to entertain foreign visitors both in and out of court--to become the complete courtier as well as the complete politician.

But all this was in the future. At the present he was back at Wooburn with the family--including his father and step-mother, his new half-brother William (later Will), his step-sister Lizzie, his step-brother Alexander, his four sisters, and his two brothers. If

the transition from Paris to Wooburn, and from *Mr. Wharton* to plain *Tom*, seemed anticlimactic and if the monarchy at Wooburn seemed more absolute than the one at the Palais Royale, Wooburn with its colorful cast of characters and its lovely setting was nevertheless a good place to be--especially while the family was intact. And the Wharton family would remain intact for three more years, before beginning to disperse in marriage and tears.

NOTES

1. *Calamy Revised*, p. 122.
2. Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, 15 Aug. [1664], Rawlinson 53, fol. 189. Gilbert himself believed that "spruce" appearance could not possibly "dissuade" Clifford for the position of tutor.
3. See Abraham Clifford to [Anne Wharton], [25 Nov.]/5 Dec. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. [58].
4. Abraham Clifford to Lord Wharton, 30 July 1664, Rawlinson 53, fol. 182.
5. Clifford to Lord Wharton 7/17 Oct. 1664, Rawlinson 53, fol. 7.
6. Tom to Lord Wharton, [6]/16 Nov. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 281.
7. John Perkins to Lord Wharton, [10]/20 Oct. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 258.
8. Gale to Lord Wharton, [10]/20 Oct. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 254.
9. James Le Fevre to Lord Wharton, [26 Sept.]/6 Oct. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 238
10. Gale to Lord Wharton, [26 Sept.]/6 Oct. 1664, Rawlinson 49, fol. 235.
11. Clifford to Lord Wharton, 7/17 Oct. 1664, Rawlinson 54, fol. 7.
12. Clifford to Lord Wharton, 15/25 Dec. 1664.
13. Lord Wharton to Clifford, 31 Oct./[9 Nov.] 1664, Rawlinson 54, fol. [13].
14. Clifford to Lord Wharton, 15/25 Dec. 1664, Rawlinson 52, fol. 308.
15. Macky, p. 92. It is not clear what "middle stature" was in 1702 (the approximate date of Macky's description) or what John Macky thought it was. Nor is it clear whether Tom's "fair complexion" included blond hair. The three extant portraits I know are indecisive on this point, since Tom is wearing a periwig in each. My guess is that he was blond (like his sister Margaret) and that he was about five feet six inches tall--small enough to ride race horses and large enough to win duels.
16. In the collection of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.
17. In the British National Portrait Gallery, London.
18. *Autobiography*, i, 93, 323.
19. Lord Wharton to Clifford, 24/[31] Dec. 1664, Rawlinson 54, [15].
20. Clifford to Lord Wharton, 12/22 Apr. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 25.
21. Clifford to Lord Wharton, 8/18 April 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 59.

22. Jacques Gomboust, *Plan Monumentale de Paris au XVIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1652, repr. Paris, [1908], ed. A. Taride), pl. V; Albert Jouvin, *Paris vers 1675: grand plan de Paris et de ses environs....* (repr. Paris, [1908], ed. A. Taride), pl. V.

23. Lord Wharton to Clifford, 13/[23] Apr. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 34. In 1664, "one Wilson, an Englishman," kept a coffee house on the Rue des Boucheries, where young Edward Browne "met divers English Gentlemen." This establishment was probably still there and still dispensing coffee and English beer during the Wharton residence on the street. See Edward Browne, *Journal of a Visit to Paris in the Year 1664*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London, 1923), pp. 9, 29.

24. Ibid.

25. Clifford to Lord Wharton [31 Apr.]/9 May 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 45. The English Embassy was on the Rue St. Honoré near the old Porte St. Honoré and "not far from Hostel de Vandasme" [Vendôme] (Edward Browne, *Journal of a Visit to Paris in the Year 1664*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, London, 1923, p. 9). The Embassy had a chapel where Anglican services were held. There was also a Protestant church at Charenton.

26. Clifford to Lord Wharton, [31 Apr.]/9 May 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 45. The title *Earl of Essex* had become extinct in 1646 with the death of Robert Devereaux, 2nd Earl and renowned general of the Parliamentary armies (Lord Wharton's commander at Edgehill). In reviving the title and bestowing it upon Arthur Capel, scion of a Royalist family, Charles II not only rewarded loyal virtue but also placed another friend in the House of Lords. Elizabeth Capel, Countess of Essex--the lady whom Tom and Goodwin met--was the daughter of Algernon Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland.

27. Clifford to Lord Wharton, [20]/30 May 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 24. It should be added that Clifford may have exaggerated Tom's ignorance in order to talk Lord Wharton out of sending the boys to Germany.

28. Clifford to Lord Wharton, [29 April]/9 May, 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 65.

29. Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*, ed. Raymond Phineas Stearns (Urbana, Chicago, London, 1967), p. 6. The English physician Martin Lister visited Paris in late 1665 (while Tom and Goodwin were there) and again in 1698 (when he accompanied the Earl of Portland, King William's ambassador).

30. Lord Wharton's letter of instructions to Clifford is lost. I have inferred its contents from Clifford's replies and actions. Clifford does not say what reasons Lord Wharton gave for his choice of routes, if he gave any.

31. *Calamy Revised*, p. 122.

32. Clifford to Lord Wharton, 3/13 June 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 32.

33. Clifford to Lord Wharton, [2]/12 Aug. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 57.

34. Clifford to Lord Wharton, [16]/26 Aug. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 45.

35. Fortunately, Lord Wharton had retreated with his family from St. Giles, where (as he said) "they dye...by the hundred in a weeke of the Plague," to Wooburn, which remained uninfected. It was rumored, however, that he and Lady Wharton and sixteen of their servants had died. Lord Wharton to Clifford, 3 July 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 17.

36. Clifford to Lord Wharton, [24 Aug]/3 Sep. 1665, Rawlinson 64, fol. 43.

37. Tom's first biographer says, "He [Tom] made the Tour of *France, Italy, Germany, and Holland*" (*Memoirs*, p. 13). Actually, however, Tom never got to Italy, Germany, or Holland during his stay in Europe, and he saw nothing of southern France.
38. Clifford to Lord Wharton, [4]/14 Oct. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 53.
39. Clifford to Lord Wharton 3/13 June 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 32.
40. Clifford to Lord Wharton, 15/25 Nov. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 26. Unluckily Tom came down with smallpox the day after his afternoon at the court of Louis XIV. Any accounts that might have been given were preempted by illness and anxiety.
41. Clifford to Lord Wharton, [4]/14 Oct. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 53.
42. John Perkins to Lord Wharton, 15/25 Nov. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 19.
43. Clifford to Lord Wharton, 15/25 Nov. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 26.
44. For the physicians involved, see Rawlinson 49, fol. 291.
45. Clifford to [Anne Wharton], 18/28 Nov. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. 41.
46. Clifford to [Anne Wharton], [25 Nov.]/5 Dec. 1665, Rawlinson 54, fol. [58]. This letter and the letter of 18/29 Nov. 1665 do not have a formal salutation or an outside address. That they are written to Anne, however, is proven not only by the internal evidence but by Clifford's letter to Lord Wharton on 29 Nov./9 Dec., where Clifford says he wrote letters on those dates to "M^{rs} [Mistress] Wharton" (that is, Anne). Rawlinson 54, fol. [56].
47. Ibid.
48. Clifford to Lord Wharton, [29 Nov.]/9 Dec. 1665, Rawlinson 54, [56]; Clifford to Lord Wharton, 19/29 Dec. 1665, Rawlinson 54, [64].
49. Ostensibly, Holles remained in Paris because of the illness of his second wife, who died in late January, and because of his own gout. Conveniently, however, he was able to conduct some peace negotiations, ultimately abortive, in April and to woo a Norman widow, Mme. Marie de Cambernon, who became his third wife the following September. See Keith Feiling, *British Foreign Policy, 1660-1672* (London, 1930), pp. 197-200; Patricia Crawford, *Denzil Holles* (London, 1979), pp. 203-05.
50. Clifford to Lord Wharton, from Rouen, 7/17 April 1666, Rawlinson 54, fol. 68.
51. Holles finally embarked at Dieppe on 22 May/1 June 1666 and arrived at Whitehall on 28 May/7 June. See Philibert, comte de Gramont, to Hugues de Lionne, marquis de Berny, 1 June 1666, in François Pierre Guillaume Giuzot, *Etudes Biographiques sur la Révolution D'Angleterre* (Paris, 1851), p. 43; W. L. Grant, *A Puritan at the Court of Louis XIV*, Bulletin of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, No. 8 (Kingston, July 1913), p. 17.
52. See his letter to Georg Ludwig, Elector of Hanover (later George I), 10 May 1706, BL, Stowe MS 222, fols. 406-07.

53. George I understood English; but in the early days of his reign, he seldom spoke it for more than a sentence or two. See Ragnhild Hatton, *George I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 128-132. Oddly enough, considering the fact that William had an English mother and an English wife, he seems to have been happier in French, which he spoke and wrote with a kind of rough and ready fluency, than in English. For the King's French, see Stephen B. Baxter, *William III and the Defense of European Liberty 1650-1702* (New York, 1966), p.23.